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## ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF PORTUGUESE BOOKS BEFORE 1640

By HENRY THOMAS.<sup>1</sup>



FOR a number of years I have been engaged in rather desultory fashion on the bibliography of the English translations of works by Spanish and Portuguese authors printed down to the year 1640. To produce a fairly complete list of these translations is a simple matter—it has already been done in part—and the task will be even simpler when the Bibliographical Society's composite English catalogue for the period is published. To supplement that list with accurate particulars of the originals, and of any intermediate translations that may have been used—which is what I have been trying to do—is a lengthier business. Well-known books, as a rule, present little difficulty; but the lesser-known books, especially the religious books, call for much research and considerable patience.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, unfair

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 18 January 1926.

<sup>2</sup> The indiscriminate neglect of religious writings on the part of older librarians and collectors has left the researcher in this country often helpless when dealing with foreign authors even of the highest repute. Except that English librarians and collectors have usually shown a bias against Roman Catholic literature, they do not appear to be much worse than their fellows elsewhere.

that any one should occupy a particular field for any length of time without making some sort of return, and so I gratefully accepted an invitation to read a paper before this Society in order that I might give some account of a small and manageable section of my theme—the Portuguese section. Even for that small section my information is not complete, and I welcome all the more this opportunity to speak about the early English translations of works by Portuguese authors, in the hope that some member of my audience, or of an eventually wider public, may be able to help me fill in the gaps.

During the war we frequently reminded ourselves of our ancient alliance with Portugal. We might have supposed that this ancient alliance would have resulted in early literary interchanges between England and Portugal; but it appears to have affected mainly the political, social, and commercial relations between the two countries. English knights may have helped to spread some of the themes—as they did something of the spirit—of northern chivalry in Portugal; if so, they left no recognizable trace behind. The only early translation I know from the English into Portuguese<sup>1</sup> is one of Gower's *Confessio amantis* made by Robert Payne, an Englishman who held a canonry at Lisbon about the end of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, I know of no early translation from the Portuguese into English, and Portuguese authors seem to have begun to attract the attention of translators in this country much about the same time as did Spanish authors, that is, during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. There are, indeed, various reminders

<sup>1</sup> There are not wanting books which profess to have been translated from English into Portuguese. For instance, the famous romance of chivalry, *Tirant lo Blanch* (1490), was 'translated from English into the Portuguese tongue, and afterwards into the vulgar Valencian tongue'; but such statements are not to be taken seriously. Similarly, two Portuguese romances mentioned below, *Palmerin of England* and *Palladine of England*, profess to have been taken from English sources,

that Portuguese literature, so far as this country was concerned, followed in the wake of Spanish literature. Spanish books in the original language, Spanish dictionaries, and Spanish grammars, were published in England during the sixteenth century. On the other hand no early Portuguese grammar was published here; Portuguese was only included in polyglot dictionaries during the seventeenth century;<sup>1</sup> and though a book in Portuguese professes to have been published in London in 1546,<sup>2</sup> its author, who died in 1778, was not quite so old as the publisher makes out. The Portuguese language, in short, has always been much less widely known in this country than the Spanish, and, as we shall see below, rarely was a translation made directly from the Portuguese during our period.

It is creditable, therefore, that the first English translation from a Portuguese author should appear in print very soon after the first English translation from the Spanish. We owe both to the domestic circle of Sir Thomas More. The first translation from the Spanish was the *Interlude of Calisto and Melebea* which was made and printed by More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, shortly before 1530. The first translation from a Portuguese author was *The legacye or embassate of the great emperour of Inde prester Iohn, vnto Emanuell kynge of Portyngale, in the yere of our lorde M.v.C.xiii*, made by More's son John, and printed by Rastell's son William in 1533, the

<sup>1</sup> For example, in John Minshew's *The Guide into Tongues*, London, 1617, and in the *New Dialogues or Colloquies*, and, *A little Dictionary of eight Languages*, London, 1639, a late edition of a work by N. Barlement.

<sup>2</sup> Sharp, S., *Tratado das operaçoens de chirurgia . . . Trad. em portugues por J. de C(astro) S(armento)*. Londres, 1546. The English original was published in 1739.

It may be mentioned here that, while no separate work in Portuguese was published in England during our period, a few Portuguese letters and documents in the original language were included in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas mentioned below.

year after the publication of Damião de Goes' Latin original.<sup>1</sup> So far the honours between Spain and Portugal are fairly even, for the *Interlude* is but an extract, rewritten in English verse, from an old Spanish masterpiece, while *The legacye*, if of slightly later date, and from the Latin, is at any rate a complete translation.

Damião de Goes' account of the embassy of Prester John was published with something more than its obvious purpose. It was, of course, intended to gratify a natural curiosity as to the conditions of a remote foreign country; but at the same time it was a piece of religious and political propaganda on behalf of the author's native country. As such, it is a very fitting book to stand at the head of the early English translations of Portuguese works, for the great majority of these are either accounts of voyages and travels, or historical works in which religion or politics, or both, usually play a prominent part. I propose to deal as briefly as may be with these two groups in the order mentioned, before discussing at relatively greater length a small but interesting group of translations from purely literary works. Apart from a few miscellaneous items, these three groups exhaust all my material.

The Portuguese were the pioneers in the exploration of the sea route via the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean. They were also, following closely the Spaniards' lead, pioneers in the exploration of the New World and of the sea route to the East round South America. The Portuguese were consequently, along with the Spaniards, the masters of our early navigators, and English mariners, including Drake himself, freely acknowledged their debt to both nations. It was natural that Portuguese books should be the best, and sometimes the only sources of information concerning lands which the Portuguese had special or unique facilities for studying—

<sup>1</sup> *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis, ad Emanuelem Lusitaniæ Regem, Anno Domini M.D.XIII.* Antwerp, 1532.



certain parts of America, of Africa, of the Far East, including, thanks largely to their Jesuit missionaries, China. It was equally natural that these books should be translated into other languages.

There is further confirmation of the impression that Portuguese literature followed in the wake of Spanish, as far as this country was concerned, in the English translations of these books of voyages and travels. Only four were printed separately during our period, and the earliest did not appear till 1582, by which time quite a respectable number of Spanish books of travel and navigation had been translated and printed in England. In the year just mentioned, Nicholas Lichfield published his translation of the first book only of Fernam Lopez de Castanheda's *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, under the title: *The first Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales*. The original appeared at Coimbra in 1551, and it can be shown that Lichfield translated from an anonymous Spanish version printed at Antwerp in 1554.

In 1597 Abraham Hartwell published *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Africa*, which we owe to Duarte Lopez. Hartwell's translation was made from the original language, which, however, was not Portuguese, for Lopez did not compose the book himself. It was 'drawn out of the writings and discourses' of that traveller by Filippo Pigafetta, an Italian, who reduced the matter, as he tells us, 'dalla viva voce' into his native tongue, in which he published it at Rome in 1591.<sup>1</sup>

The beginning of the sixteenth century brings us into con-

<sup>1</sup> *Relazione del reame di Congo et delle circonuicine contrade. Tratta dalli Scritti & ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez Portoghese. Per Filippo Pigafetta*. It is to Pigafetta that we owe the account of Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation, the English version of which was first printed in Richard Eden's *The Decades of the new worlde* mentioned below; but this account is Pigafetta's own work, and there is no excuse for including it in the list above.

tact with the most famous English geographer, to whom we shall have to return in a moment. In 1601 Richard Hakluyt published *The Discoveries of the World from their first originall vnto the yeere of our Lord 1555. Briefly written in the Portugall tongue by Antonie Galuano*. The translation was made not by Hakluyt, but as he himself tells us, 'by some honest and well affected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could attaine vnto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me aboue these twelue yeeres.' That would bring it nearer to the date of the original, which was published at Lisbon, after the author's death, in 1563. Hakluyt's title is more suited to the contents of the book than the original title, which reads: *Tratado, que compôs o nobre E notauel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diuersos E desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta E especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes*. The change in the title cannot disguise the fact that the translation was made from the original Portuguese.

It is to Hakluyt also that we owe the last of these four books: *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour*, which he himself translated from the Portuguese, publishing it in 1609, and re-issuing it with a new title in 1611. Hakluyt's title this time gives little clue to the character of the work, which is really an account of Fernando de Soto's ill-fated expedition to Florida in 1539-41, originally written by an unknown 'Portugall gentleman of Elvas', and published at Evora in 1557.<sup>1</sup> The publication of Hakluyt's translation in 1609, and his choice of title, was occasioned by the English attempts to colonize Virginia, the London Company interested in the undertaking having been recognized during that year.

<sup>1</sup> *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̃ bo governador dō Fernão d'souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no d'scobrimẽto da prouincia da Frolida. Agora nouamẽte feita per bũ fidalgo Deluas.*

These four books by themselves would hardly justify my making the accounts of voyages and travels my first group; but they must be supplemented by three times as many more translations printed in well-known English collections. Richard Eden included translations of one or two short official Portuguese documents in *The Decades of the new worlde*, published in 1555. Richard Willes, in his augmented edition of this work, which he brought out under the title *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies* in 1577—that is, five years before the earliest of the four books mentioned above—added extracts from the letters of Luis Froes, the Jesuit missionary in Japan, taken from a Latin collection of ‘Petrus Maffeijs my olde acquaynted friend’; he also included ‘Certayne reportes out of the prouince China, learned through ‘the Portugalles there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation ‘of Galeotto Perera’. This latter Willes translated himself from the Italian original—for like one of the books mentioned above, the earliest printed form of this work is an Italian redaction of 1565.<sup>1</sup> Richard Hakluyt took over Willes’s translations from the Portuguese in his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries*, published at the end of the sixteenth century; he added a few more official documents,<sup>2</sup> a page from the book of Antonio Galvão which he shortly afterwards published in full, brief extracts from Garcia de Resende’s life of John II of Portugal, more extracts from the letters of Luis Froes, and two translations of special interest to Englishmen. The first is the Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva’s relation of the voyage which he made as Sir Francis Drake’s prisoner through the Straits of Magellan—Drake afterwards

<sup>1</sup> *Alcune cose del paese de la China saputi de certi Portughesi ch’ivi furon sati schiavi; e questo fu cavato d’un trattato che fece Galeoto Pereira Gentil huomo persona di molto credito il quale stette prigione nel sudetto luogo Tuchiaen alcuni anni.* (Quoted from Barbosa.)

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt, like Purchas mentioned below, occasionally quotes a Portuguese document in the original language.

generously acknowledging that he could not have made the voyage without Silva's help. The second is a relation of further voyages and adventures of Sir Francis Drake, John Oxenham, Edward Fenton, John Drake, and others, told by a Portuguese called 'Lopez Vaz', who was taken prisoner by the navigator Captain Withrington in 1586. Neither of these translations was made from printed originals. The official original of Nuno da Silva's relation is at Simancas, and there is a copy of it in the Hydrographic Department of the Spanish Admiralty, which may or may not be that used by Hakluyt. Of the relation of Lopez Vaz I can trace neither original nor copy, and I shall be grateful to any one who can give me information of anything that may have survived.

In addition to reprints of nearly all the translations already mentioned, nine new translations appeared in Parts II-IV of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, published in 1625. Most of these were, as the collector puts it, 'abbreviated to prevent tediousness', and most of them, following his precedent, shall be dealt with summarily here, especially the first six, which are translated from printed texts.

No one seems to have undertaken the systematic investigation of Purchas's sources—the task would be a considerable one—but as far as the translations from the Portuguese are concerned, the originals are mostly close at hand in London. Where the translations have been made from printed texts, the British Museum has the first editions of the originals, and of any intermediate translations used, in all cases but one; in that case it has later editions of the two texts used.

Three of the translations made from printed texts deal with the land that had already attracted the attention of Damião de Goes:

- (i) 'The Voyage of Sir Francis Aluarez, a Portugall Priest, made vnto the Court of Prete Ianni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia.' Translated anony-

mously, through Ramusio's Italian version, from Alvarez's *Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Ioam*, printed at Lisbon in 1540.

(ii) 'A briefe Relation of the Embassage which the Patriarch Don Iohn Bermudez brought from the Emperour 'of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Presbyter Iohn.' Translated anonymously and abridged from the *Breue relação da embaixada q̃ o Patriarcha dō Ioão Bermudez trouxe do Emperador da Ethiopia, chamado vulgarmente Preste Ioão*, printed at Lisbon in 1565.

(iii) 'Collections out of the Voyage and Historie of Friar 'Ioão dos Sanctos his *Æthiopia Orientalis, & Varia Historia*.' Partly summarized and partly translated anonymously from João dos Santos's *Ethiopia Oriental, e Varia Historia de cousas notauéis do Oriente*, printed at Evora in 1609. At the end is some additional matter from various works, the authors mentioned being E. Acosta, P. Du Jarric, J. B. Grimaye, and B. Barreira.

Two of the six deal with the Far East :

(iv) 'A Treatise of China and the adioyning Regions, written by Gaspar Da Cruz a Dominican Friar.' A very much abridged anonymous translation of Gaspar da Cruz's *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estêso as cousas da China*, printed at Evora in 1569-70.

(v) 'Obseruations of China, Tartaria, and other Easterne 'parts of the World, taken out of Fernam Mendez Pinto 'his Peregrination.' Partly summarized and partly translated anonymously, with the help of F. de Herrera Maldonado's Spanish version, from the first half of the *Peregrinaçam de Fernam Mendez Pinto*, printed at Lisbon in 1614.

The last of the six relates to India :

(vi) 'Indian Obseruations gathered out of the Letters of 'Nicolas Pimenta, Visiter of the Iesuites in India, and of 'many others of that Societie, written from diuers Indian

'Regions.' Translated anonymously from two official letters or reports sent to Rome and there printed in 1601 and 1602 respectively. The first editions not being accessible to me, I give the titles of the Mainz reprints of the same years, which I have before me: *Noua relatio historica de rebus in India Orientali a Patribus Societatis Iesu, Anno 1598. Et 99 gestis. A R. P. Nicolao Pimenta. Mainz, 1601*; and *Exemplum epistolæ P. Nicolai Pimentæ provincie Orientalis Indiæ Visitatoris . . . de statu rei christianæ in India Orientali Calendis Decembris Anno 1600 datæ. Mainz, 1602.*

The three translations from manuscript originals which Purchas includes are interesting in themselves and, in two cases, in their pedigree. 'A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long liued there', is stated by J. C. Rodrigues in his *Bibliotheca Brasiliense* to have been made from a manuscript, now in the Evora Public Library, which he identifies as the work of the Jesuit missionary Fernão Cardim. Two of its three sections have been printed in Portuguese in modern times, but unfortunately neither of these texts is in the British Museum.

The original text of 'A Rutter of Don Iohn of Castro, 'of the Voyage which the Portugals made from India to 'Zoez', was, so Purchas tells us, 'reported to haue beene 'bought by Sir Walter Raleigh, at sixtie pounds, and by him 'caused to be done into English, out of the Portugall'; and Purchas thinks that Raleigh himself amended and annotated the translation. This original *roteiro*, I have no doubt, is now part of the Cotton collection in the British Museum (Tib. D. IX.), a fine illustrated manuscript written by Gaspar Aloisius in 1543, unfortunately charred by fire round the edges.

The third text long caused me trouble, because Purchas describes it as 'Don Duart De Meneses the Vice-roy, his

<sup>1</sup> Viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, 1545-8.

'tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the Lawes, Cus-  
'tomes, Reuenues, Expenses, and other matters remarkable  
'therein : here abbrevuiated'. Duarte de Meneses, of course,  
never wrote a treatise on the Indies, and the original from  
which Purchas made the extracts he prints was a most valuable  
collection of official documents and returns made during  
Meneses' viceroyalty (1521-4). Some portions have been  
printed in more recent times in Portuguese, apparently from  
late manuscript copies. The early original used by Purchas,  
after long wanderings abroad, was recovered by the British  
Museum in 1870 (Add. MS. 28433). There can be little  
doubt that this was Purchas's copy, for it bears on the first  
leaf the name of Richard Hakluyt, part of whose papers  
passed into the hands of Samuel Purchas.

This concludes the first group, and I now pass on to the  
second group, composed of historical works mainly of a  
propagandist nature. In these, history, politics, and religion  
tend to become inextricably involved, as is apparent in the  
very first item. In 1562 Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, whose  
fame as a Latinist earned for him the title of 'the Portuguese  
Cicero', and whose services to his country and religion were  
rewarded with the bishopric of Silves, published in Lisbon an  
official Latin epistle addressed to Queen Elizabeth (*Epistola  
Hieronymi Osorii ad serenissimam Elisabetam Angliæ reginam*),  
exhorting her to return to the Catholic faith. This was  
translated into English by Richard Shacklock and published at  
Antwerp in 1565—there being two editions by different  
printers in that year. During the interval between the  
printing of the original letter and the translation, an official  
reply had been published by Dr. Walter Haddon on the  
English side, and Osorio issued a Latin confutation of this  
reply in three books in 1567. This confutation was translated  
into English by John Fenn and also published abroad the next  
year, but this time at Louvain, where the translator was a



student. The contest did not end there, but our interest in it does, and other works of Osorio claim our attention. In 1576 William Blandie published in London a translation of Osorio's *De nobilitate ciuili et christiana*; and such was Osorio's fame as a Latinist that in 1580 the original texts of this work and of the author's *De gloria*, first published in Lisbon in 1542 and 1549 respectively, were printed in London. Ten years later two of Osorio's Latin letters to his friend Roger Ascham were printed in a collected London edition of Ascham's Latin letters. Osorio has therefore the distinction of being the only Portuguese author of our period to have his works printed in England in the original language.

In his earlier days Osorio had been tutor to Antonio, Prior do Crato, a grandson of King Manuel, but of doubtful birth. On the death of King Henry and the failure of the direct line of succession in 1580, Antonio had himself proclaimed king, but he was driven out of Portugal by the Duke of Alva, the agent of his successful rival Philip II of Spain, and forced to take refuge in France and England. In 1585<sup>1</sup> the house of Christopher Plantin at Leyden issued Latin, French, Dutch, and English editions of a propagandist tract on Antonio's behalf, written not necessarily by himself, but at any rate under his direction by one or other of his Portuguese suite. The English edition, which was translated from the Latin and French texts, is called *The Explanation of the True and Lawfull Right and Tytle, of the Moste Excellent Prince, Antonie the first of that name, King of Portugall*. Antonio's cause was at different times actively supported by Kings Henry III and IV of France, and by Queen Elizabeth of England, but it did

<sup>1</sup> Even before this date an English work had contained a reference to Antonio's affairs derived from a Portuguese source. At the end of the English translation of certain *Lettres interceptes* of Cardinal Perrenot de Granvelle, published in 1582, there is a version of a letter of Cypriano de Figueiredo Vasconcellos, governor of the island of Terceira, protesting his loyalty to Antonio.

not prosper, and he died an exile in Paris on 26 August 1595. Towards the end he repented him of his unsuccessful life, and poured out his soul in some Latin *Psalms of Confession*, which became popular in the seventeenth century, and were translated into various languages. One English version, represented now by a single copy in Archbishop Marsh's Library in Dublin, appeared during our period, and is of interest as throwing some light on the original.

In 1919 M. Legris published in the *Revue Hispanique* the Latin text of these *Psalms*, together with a French verse translation. M. Legris printed the Latin text from the earliest known edition, that of 1609, with the help of a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. He cites an earlier edition, on Barbosa's authority, as printed at Paris 'apud Federicum Borellum' in 1592, and he has no difficulty in showing that such an edition could not have existed, for according to Barbosa it contained a reference to Antonio's death, which occurred in 1595. Fortunately the English edition, as represented by the Dublin copy, states on the title-page that it was printed in 1596, and that the translation was made from 'the Latine copie, printed at Paris by Frederike Morell'. Barbosa's 'apud Federicum Borellum' and '1592' were simply mistranscriptions or misprints. The original came out in 1595 or 1596, and it only remains to trace a copy, if one still exists. I shall be indebted to any one who can give me information on this point.

The need for securing constant French support almost inevitably involved Antonio in the internal politics of France, and we probably owe to one of his followers another propagandist tract, *The Spaniards Monarchie, and Leaguers Olygarchie*. Laid open in an aduer[t]isement, written by Signor Vasco Figueiro a Gentleman of Portingale to the rebellious French, which was 'Englished by H. O.', and printed in London in 1592. The English translation was made from

the French text printed the year before. I have no information as to Vasco Figueiro; but though the French edition contains the author's address to the reader, dated 'De Portugal ce 3 de May 1591', I think the French text is the original, and I should look for its author in Antonio's circle of supporters.

It is certainly to Antonio's supporters that we owe three rare tracts printed at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. These tracts—two of them, and perhaps the third, based on the letters and writings of Antonio's almoner and confessor José de Teixeira—relate to King Sebastian of Portugal, who perished in the destruction of the ill-fated expedition to Africa in 1578. Many Portuguese held the King's death incredible, and believed that he would some day return. Towards the end of the century an impersonator trading on this belief, and on the recent death of Antonio, appeared in Italy, and his cause was taken up by Antonio's followers as an excuse for continuing the agitation against the Spaniards. Hence three propagandist tracts which were translated and published in English, beginning with *The Strangest Aduenture that euer happened . . . Containing a discourse concerning the successe of the King of Portugall Dom Sebastian, from the time of his voyage into Affricke, when he was lost in the battell against the infidels, in the yeare 1578, vnto the sixt of Ianuary this present 1601*—that being the year in which the translation was printed. The translator, Anthony Munday, describes the work as 'first done in Spanish, then in French, and now lastly translated into English'. In mentioning a Spanish original, Munday was copying from the French version which he used. I cannot trace any printed version beyond the *Aduenture admirable par dessus toutes autres des siecles passez & present*, printed in 1601. A French *Histoire veritable des dernieres et piteuses aduentures de Don Sebastian*, printed in 1602, appeared in English as *The True Historie of the late and lamentable aduentures of Don Sebastian* in the same

year; while a *Suyte d'un discours intitulé adventure admirable, &c.*, also printed in 1602, became the English *A Continuation of the lamentable and admirable adventures of Dom Sebastian* in 1603. Here again the French texts seem to be the earliest printed versions. The responsible editor of the *Suyte*, as of the *Adventure admirable*, appears to have used manuscript material, chiefly from the pen of José de Teixeira, who is given as the writer of the greater part of both tracts. The *Histoire véritable* makes no mention of sources, but it is reasonable to attribute it to the same circle of Antonio's Portuguese supporters as the other two tracts.

José de Teixeira has often been credited with another propagandist tract which appeared shortly before the three just mentioned. In 1598 there was printed in London *A Treatise Parænetical, that is to say: An Exhortation. Wherein is shewed . . . the right way & true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian king*. This tract was reprinted in 1625—to foster the new English war against Spain—with some alterations and a different title: *The Spanish Pilgrime: or, an Admirable Discouery of a Romish Catholicke. Shewing how necessary and important it is, for the Protestant Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Europe, to make warre vpon the King of Spaines owne Countrey*. The title of the second edition reflects the statement in the first edition that the tract is 'by 'a Pilgrim Spaniard, beaten by time, and persecuted by fortune. Translated out of the Castilian tongue into the 'French, by I. D. Dralymont Lord of Yarleme. And now 'Englished.' Once more the earliest printed version appears to be the French, published in 1597 under the title *Traicté parænetique, c'est à dire exhortatoire*. The translator, Jean de Montlyard, Sieur de Melleray, scarcely disguises himself under his anagram, and we may accept his statements with rather less reserve than we should have felt bound to use had he been at greater pains to conceal his identity. According to

Montlyard's preface, the Spanish original—*Trattado Parænetico*—was written at his instigation, and handed over to him by its author, a non-Castilian Spaniard who had spent a long time in Portugal and spoke the language of that country as well as he spoke his native tongue. The tract itself is signed P. Ol., so that the 'Pilgrim Spaniard',<sup>1</sup> beaten by time, and persecuted by fortune' is identical with the 'Petrus Olim' who edited an undoubted work of Teixeira's.<sup>2</sup> Unless therefore both Montlyard and Petrus Olim were guilty of intentional mystification, Teixeira was not the author of our present tract. Nor was any other Portuguese. But it should be added that Montlyard arouses some suspicion by mentioning

<sup>1</sup> This epithet has caused the tract to be attributed also to Antonio Perez, another centre of disaffection against the Spaniards, for Perez brought out his *Pedaços de historia*—afterwards called *Relaciones*—under the pseudonym Rafael Peregrino. Mr. J. G. Underhill, in his *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, calls the *Treatise Parænetical* a translation of the *Relaciones*, with which it has nothing whatever to do. Incidentally he makes P. Ol. responsible for the English version instead of the Spanish original.

It may be remarked that both Antonio Perez and José de Teixeira are referred to in the *Traicté parænetique* in a way which gives the impression that neither is the author.

<sup>2</sup> A copy now before me of Teixeira's *Speculum tyrannidis Philippi regis Castellæ in usurpanda Portugallia*, 1595, has inserted four preliminary leaves from another edition. These are signed Petrus Olim, and are dated from Lyons, 14 August 1590. The *Speculum* is the third book of Teixeira's *De electionis iure quod competit viris Portugallensibus in augurandis suis regibus ac principibus*, Lyons, 1589, which work the author is said by Brunet to have brought out in a second edition at Lyons in 1590 under the pseudonym Petrus Olim. The four leaves just mentioned clearly belong to this second edition, and Brunet has apparently confused author and editor, for Petrus Olim speaks here of Teixeira in terms which the latter could not have used of himself. Moreover, on 1 and 5 August 1590 Teixeira was dating prefaces to genuine works of his from Tours.

For further mystification it should be added that the *Speculum*, printed two years before the *Traicté parænetique*, refers at the end to matters which are explained 'in Tractatu Parænetico apud Theseum Ierpixium'. Theseus Ierpixius has been stated to be one of Teixeira's pseudonyms—it is almost an anagram of a latinized form of his name.

in his preface the author's distress at the misfortunes of his fatherland, where that word would seem to apply most naturally to Portugal.

The *Traicté parænetique* frequently quotes—and throws some light on the authorship of—an historical work which takes us back to the days of King Sebastian and Antonio, Prior do Crato, and which has been ascribed to a Portuguese Count, and so cannot be ignored here. In 1600 there appeared in London *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill: Containing the last warres of the Portugals against the Moores of Africke, the end of the house of Portugall, and change of that Gouvernement*. This is an anonymous translation of an Italian original published at Genoa in 1585 under the name Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio, which has come to be treated usually as a pseudonym of Juan de Silva, created Count of Portalegre by Philip II of Spain. If the identification of Silva with Conestaggio were correct, the *Historie* would belong to the present section, for Silva was Portuguese on his mother's side, and his Portuguese title would turn the scale in favour of his inclusion as a Portuguese author. The identification, however, appears to be the result of a misunderstanding. The author of the *Traicté parænetique* makes it clear that Conestaggio was a real person, a Genoese, and 'a very great liar', and he further says of him, 'we knew him in Lisbon in the service of Antonio 'Caulho, and afterwards of Estienne Lercaro, a Genoese 'merchant'. The notion that the name Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio was a pseudonym probably goes back to the *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* of Innocencio Francisco da Silva. According to this authority,<sup>1</sup> Francisco Manuel de

<sup>1</sup> s. v. Jeronymo de Mendonça: 'Diz Francisco Manuel de Mello nos *Apologos dialogaes*, p. 341: *A Historia da União de Portugal e Castella*, que 'escreveu Hieronymo Franchi de Conestaggio, d'elle só tem o nome, mas o 'espirito e arte é de D. João da Silva, conde de Portalegre.'

Mello says in his *Apologos Dialogaes* that Conestaggio's history merely bore his name, whereas the 'spirit and art' were Juan de Silva's. This might justify the assumption that Silva wrote the history under the pseudonym of Conestaggio. The original makes it perfectly clear that nothing of the kind was intended. A speaker in one of the dialogues says,<sup>1</sup> 'my friend Hieronimo Franqui Conestagio told me in Italy that his history of the uniting of Portugal to Castile merely bore the name Conestagio, whereas the spirit and art were the Count's'. Here again we see that Conestaggio was a real person. He is not represented as denying the authorship of the history; the context shows that he is merely placing on another's shoulders the responsibility for the Spanish bias in his work—a bias for which he was much taken to task by Portuguese writers. We can no more attribute the history to the Count of Portalegre than to Christovão de Moura, who was another of Conestaggio's mentors, according to the *Speculum tyrannidis Philippi regis Castellæ in usurpanda Portugallia*<sup>2</sup> mentioned in a note above. The actual history is by a Genoese, and so has no place here.

Another half-Spanish, half-Portuguese item—for it was issued by the King himself—has a better right to be included in this group of historical works. In 1602, or shortly afterwards, there appeared in London *The True Copie of an Edict, made by the King of Spaine, concerning the new Christians dwelling in Portugall*. This was 'Given at Madrill, the Fowerth of Aprill, 1602', but I know of no Spanish copy, either printed or in manuscript. The English version is stated on the title-page to be 'Translated out of the Portugall

<sup>1</sup> '... Porque meu amigo Hieronimo Franqui Conestagio me contava em Italia, que a sua historia da uniaõ de Portugal a Castella, delle Conestagio só tinha o nome, mas o espirito, & arte do Conde Dom Joaõ.'

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1595, p. 67: '... in cujus compositione Angelum auricularem (ut certo scivimus ab ejusdem Conestaggi familiaribus) habuit Christophorum à Moura, qui benè noverat, quomodo Iupiter duxerat Iunonem.'



language, into English, 1602'. I know of no Portuguese printed copy, but there is a manuscript copy in the Torre do Tombo.<sup>1</sup> The English version was probably made from a manuscript copy, for the proper names have suffered even more than is usual: 'de Seixas' becomes 'd'Sorses', 'da Zevedo' becomes 'de Senedo', and so on.

Towards the end of our period there was published another English tract which recalls Antonio, Prior do Crato: *A Declaration, Of the reasons, moveing Don Emanuel, Borne Prince of Portugall . . . to forsake the Romish Religion*. This was 'translated out of the French into English by I. R. M. D.', and printed in 1634. Emanuel was Antonio's grandson. His father was born out of wedlock, and he himself was born out of Portugal, so that we can hardly claim him as a Portuguese, and the mere mention of his *Declaration* will suffice here.

This completes the present group, and with an appeal for information on points left in doubt we may pass on to the third group—a small but interesting group of purely literary works.

The English translations of purely literary Portuguese works made during our period form, indeed, a very small group, which but for the reader's indulgence would have to be smaller still, for the earliest form of all the works composing it is the Spanish—the Spanish text is either the original, or the earliest surviving form, or earlier than the surviving form of the Portuguese original from which it is taken. Assuming that the reader's indulgence will not be withheld, we shall be concerned in this group with four works—a pastoral romance and three romances of chivalry. The group is a small one, but it brings us into contact with some famous Portuguese books and some famous English names.

No one is likely to quarrel with the inclusion of Jorge de

<sup>1</sup> Information supplied by Sn<sup>r</sup> J. Lucio d'Azevedo, through Professor Edgar Prestage. See Jozé Anastasio de Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica*, 1790, tom. 2, p. 285.

Montemôr's *La Diana* among Portuguese works. Though this book first appeared in Spanish at Valencia, and incidentally started the fashion of the pastoral romance in Spain, not only was the author a Portuguese, but some passages in the book are in his native tongue. Three or four years only after *La Diana* was published, Barnaby Googe included fairly close verse renderings of two incidents from the romance in his *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes*, printed in 1563: the fifth and seventh eclogues partly summarize and partly translate incidents from the second half of the second book and the first half of the first book respectively. These extracts entitle *La Diana* to take first place in this group, although the complete work did not appear in English till 1598. In that year Bartholomew Young printed his translation of Montemôr's *La Diana*, together with the continuations of the Spaniards Alonso Perez and Gaspar Gil Polo; but he tells us in his preface that his manuscript was completed fifteen years earlier. He also makes it clear that he was far from being the only translator of the book, for he mentions 'Edward Paston Esquier' as having 'aptly turned out of Spanish into English some leaves that liked him best', and he adds that if Paston had made a complete translation, this 'had of all others, that 'ever I yet heard translate these Bookes, prooved the rarest 'and worthiest to be embraced'.

Who all these others are, whom Bartholomew Young 'heard translate' *La Diana*, we do not know. He may have included among them his predecessor Barnaby Googe, as well as the more famous Sir Philip Sidney. Translations by the latter of two poems from the first book of *La Diana* were included in the 1598 edition of his *Arcadia*. They were reprinted in the numerous succeeding editions, and they also appeared, along with eight poems from Young's translation, in the two editions of *England's Helicon* (1600 and 1614), so that they must have been widely read. They may well have been known

to Young at a much earlier date, for they doubtless circulated privately before, as well as after, Sidney's death in 1584.

Another translation of which Young may have been thinking, and which circulated privately, if at all, was that of Sir Thomas Wilson, who himself tells us that he translated the whole of *La Diana* while travelling in Italy and Germany in 1596. The complete draft seems to have disappeared, but an autograph copy of the first book, made between 1614 and 1620 for Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, survives in the British Museum. When printing this fragment in the *Revue Hispanique* four or five years ago, I recalled the fact that Shakespeare had borrowed, directly or indirectly, part of the plot of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* from the story of Felix and Felismena in the second book of *La Diana*—one of the stories that had already attracted the attention of Barnaby Googe. I pointed out that Sir Thomas Wilson had dedicated his translation of 1596 to Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton; that later, when making his transcript for Sir Fulke Greville, he had been unable to find more than the first book; and that it was therefore tempting to think that the complete original draft had passed into the hands of Shakespeare, who returned the first book, but retained the rest on finding a story with dramatic possibilities in the second book. In that case, Sir Thomas Wilson in his prefatory letter rightly speaks of 'the rest, which being lost are better so'. But before this theory can be accepted, there must be a general massacre of the literary critics, who are almost unanimously of opinion that *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* belongs to the early nineties. At that time, Sir Thomas Wilson's translation was not yet made, according to his own account; but there were several other sources from which Shakespeare could have known the story he utilized. Besides the Spanish original and the French translation, which had both been printed several times, there were various English

translations in manuscript, as Bartholomew Young informs us. There was, moreover, a stage adaptation of the story selected by Shakespeare—*The History of Felix and Philismena*—which was acted at Court in 1584-5, but which is now unfortunately lost. From what we know of Shakespeare's methods, he may well have used this work of an unknown predecessor, though one or two details in his play have been thought to show that he knew the original romance.

The second item in this group is the romance of *Amadis of Gaul*, and I must particularly crave the reader's indulgence for including here this founder of the Spanish and Portuguese romances of chivalry, as the form in which we first know it is a Spanish version made towards the end of the fifteenth century. However, it can definitely be traced much farther back, and a strong if confused tradition seems to connect a presumed Portuguese version with a certain Joham de Lobeira, who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The fact that tradition first shapes itself round a Portuguese version is my justification for including the story here.

The problems as to the origin and growth of the *Amadis* story find an echo in the various difficulties connected with its introduction into England. Like Montemôr's *La Diana*, *Amadis of Gaul* first appeared in this country in the form of extracts. Apparently rather more than half-way through the twelve-month 22 July 1567-22 July 1568, a book called 'the trasurye of Amydyce contanyng Eloquent oracions made by Thomas Pannell' was entered in the *Stationers' Register*, and it has generally been assumed that a book with a similar title—*The Treasure of Amadis of Fraunce*—and with all the appearances of a first edition, printed by Henry Bynneman for Thomas Hacket, was published in 1568. Although Hacket did not date this book, he gave on the title-page his address, which differs from that in his known books of 1568. His next surviving books are dated 1573, and they are issued from the

same address as *The Treasure of Amadis of Fraunce*. Unfortunately we do not know in what year he changed his address,<sup>1</sup> so that the title-page does not give us the clue we might have expected as to the date of *The Treasure*. We have, however, other evidence which points to its having probably been published some years later than has been supposed. The English *Treasure* is translated out of French, as the title-page states. By 1556 the French *Amadis*, which ultimately ran to twenty-four books, consisted of half that number. These, especially the first eight of them, translated by Nicolas de Herberay, were regarded as models of French prose, and in 1559 an anonymous editor published in Paris *Le tresor des douze livres d'Amadis de Gaule*, containing 'epistles, complaints, harangues, discourses, cartels and challenges' taken from the books published up to that time. The extracts were as much in demand as the story itself, and the *Trésor* ran through many editions, extracts from later books of the series being added after they became available in French. It was from one of the enlarged editions that Thomas Paynel made his English version, for he included, no doubt before his publisher had time to stop him, a single chapter from the thirteenth book. Now the French translation of the thirteenth book first appeared in Paris in 1571, and extracts from it were printed in the Lyons edition of the *Trésor* of the same year. Evidently Paynel's translation was made and printed after that date, unless *The Treasure* which has come down to us is a second edition, with a supplementary chapter from the thirteenth book added. This does not seem likely, and it is probable that *Amadis of Gaul* first appeared in English roughly ten years, instead of five, after its rival *La Diana*.

The attempt to date *The Treasure* has taken us far beyond

<sup>1</sup> Professor Arber, in the directory appended to his transcript of the *Stationers' Register*, makes the change occur in 1570, but I cannot find out on what grounds, and I imagine that he chose the round date as a compromise.

the limits of the Portuguese *Amadis*, which must have corresponded to the first three or four books only of the existing Spanish version. We may conveniently deal with all four books here.

The first book of the English *Amadis* was entered in the *Stationers' Register* under the date 15 January 1588-9. By this time, as we have seen, *La Diana* had been translated, though the translation was not printed for nearly another ten years. The honour of being the first of these two to appear in full dress in English belongs therefore to *Amadis*. Book I was translated by Anthony Munday from Nicolas de Herberay's French version, but we do not know precisely when it was published, for only two copies are known to have survived, and both of them lack the title-page. It may well have been issued before Books II-V were entered in the *Stationers' Register* under the date 10 April 1592. It certainly appeared before 1595, when Book II, translated by Lazarus Pyott, was published. Books III and IV, although entered in the *Stationers' Register* in 1592, had to wait, it would seem, over a quarter of a century before they were printed. In 1618 Anthony Munday published a translation of both books, each with a separate title-page. Next year he reprinted the existing Books I and II, each with a separate title-page, the first one being a general title-page enabling the first four books to be sold together. Anthony Munday now states that he translated each of the four books. But the text of the second book is that of Lazarus Pyott's translation of 1595. It has therefore been assumed that Lazarus Pyott is a pseudonym of Munday's, and the assumption has involved the attribution to Munday of *The Orator*, also translated by Lazarus Pyott, from the French of Alexandre Sylvain, and printed in 1596, the year after the *Amadis*. The assumption is based on nothing more than a desire to acquit Munday of a charge of theft, and it can only be maintained by ignoring some very

plain evidence that Pyott and Munday are different persons. Pyott tells us in both his books that he is a beginner, whereas we know that Munday was an old hand by 1595-6. Pyott's statement must be taken at its face value, since it is made in the dedicatory epistles—the second of his two books is addressed to a prominent nobleman of the time. Moreover, it can easily be tested by comparing his work with Munday's, or still better, by comparing the translations of both men with the originals they used. Even a superficial comparison shows that two different people have been at work. Pyott's translations are just the conscientious work we should expect of a beginner. Munday's translations are of the careless slapdash kind we should expect of a practised scribbler—with a hazy knowledge of French, as it appears. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the comparison, for recently some already convincing external evidence has acquired overwhelming force, and rendered all further argument superfluous.

Some allusive verses in the 1619 edition of Munday's translation of the third part of *Primaleon of Greece*, which have long been known, and which have already been printed three times in the Society's *Transactions*, make it clear that Lazarus Pyott had at some time or other adversely criticized Munday's work, comparing it unfavourably with his own; yet misguided attempts have been made to explain away even these verses on the basis of Pyott's identity with Munday. Recently Mr. Gerald Hayes was fortunate enough to recover the fragment of the 1596 edition of the second part of *Primaleon of Greece* which was formerly at Britwell Court, and he found that this, too, contains the verses, together with a much more direct attack on Pyott in prose. It is no longer possible even for Munday's most stubborn admirers to deny the separate existence of Lazarus Pyott. As Mr. Hayes is printing in the present number of *The Library* the relevant material from the fragment he has recovered, it is unnecessary to say more here



than that henceforth Anthony Munday must not be confused with Lazarus Pyott, whose translation of the second book of *Amadis* he stole in 1619, by which time the translator was no doubt safely dead and buried.

The other two works belonging to this literary group need not detain us long, although they too, and especially the first, are (or were) problem books. The third item in the group is the romance of *Palmerin of England*, which Cervantes would have treated with the same reverent care as the *Works of Homer*; for *Palmerin of England*, though a late comer into the field, was the most famous member of the Spanish *Palmerin* family of romances—the series which grew up during the sixteenth century in rivalry with the *Amadis* series. As with *Amadis of Gaul*, so with *Palmerin of England*: the earliest form in which we know this latter romance is a Spanish version in two parts, published in 1547–8. The Spanish version long passed as the original, from which the existing Portuguese edition of 1567 was supposed to be derived; but it has been conclusively proved that the Spanish version was taken from a lost earlier edition of the Portuguese text, which is the work of Francisco de Moraes.

From the Spanish version Jacques Vincent made a French translation, which was in two parts like the original, and was published in 1552–3. From this Anthony Munday made an English translation, also in two parts. When the English parts were published we cannot say, for no copy of the first edition of either is known to have survived; but the romance was licensed on 13 February 1580–1, and both parts were issued before Munday's version of the Spanish romance *Palmerin de Oliva*, the founder of the *Palmerin* series, which was in print by the beginning of 1589. *Palmerin of England*, therefore, preceded *Amadis of Gaul* in England, and doubtless for that reason it was more popular; and because it was more popular it suffered more from wear and tear. The first edition, as I have said,

has not survived. A reprint of 1596 is known only from imperfect copies of both parts in the British Museum. Another reprint of 1609 is known only from a copy of the first part in a private library, though presumably it consisted of both parts. Further reprints of 1616 and 1639 are better represented, though the British Museum still lacks one of the parts.

Between his *Palmerin of England* and his *Amadis of Gaul*, both of uncertain date, Anthony Munday brought out an independent romance of chivalry, *Palladine of England*. This is an abridged version of Claude Colet's *L'Histoire Palladienne*, which appeared in Paris in 1555. Colet's story, in its turn, is a generously padded version of the first part of the Spanish romance *Don Florando de Inglaterra*, dealing with this hero's father Paladiano. And as *Don Florando de Inglaterra* is the work of an anonymous Portuguese author, published in Lisbon in 1545, *Palladine of England* is the fourth, and last, item in the present group.

The three groups already dealt with exhaust most of the available material. There remain a few works of miscellaneous character. The first is a medical treatise called *The Treasury of Health*, of which two undated editions were printed by William Copland about the middle of the sixteenth century. The same printer issued a dated edition from a different address in 1558, while there was a further reprint by Thomas East in 1585. The book is described as containing many profitable medicines gathered out of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, by one Petrus Hispanus, and translated into English by Humphrey Lloyd, who, we are told, added 'the causes and signs of every disease', as well as supplementary matters. Petrus Hispanus, afterwards Pope John XXI, was born in Lisbon early in the thirteenth century, so that he is of sufficiently late date to be classed as a Portuguese, in spite of the name by which he was known in the Middle Ages. His

*Thesaurus pauperum*, a book of medical recipes and remedies which was printed both in Latin and in Italian during the fifteenth century, was the basis of the English *Treasury of Health*, though the sections on causes and signs added for each disease by Humphrey Lloyd tend to obscure the translated portion in the much greater bulk of the English book.

A few years after the publication of the *Treasury of Health* there appeared in London, in 1562, a translation of an early chess-manual under the title *The Pleasaunt and wittie Playe of the Cheests renewed . . . Lately translated out of Italian into French, and now set furth in Englishe by James Rowbothum*. Rowbothum, the publisher, is usually given as the translator on the basis of this title-page statement; but he himself tells us, in the dedicatory epistle which he prefixes to this work, that he 'found it translated out of French into Englishe 'after the forme and manner in all poyntes as it is here 'printed'. The English translator, whoever he was, made no use of the Italian version of the work. The work itself we owe to Damião de Odemira—'Damiano Portugese' in the text—the earliest known form being the Italian edition printed in Rome in 1512 with the title *Questo libro e da imparare giocare a scachi et de le partite*. The English translation was made from Claude Gruget's French version, then recently published. Gruget, however, only translated the matter contained in the first three of the fifteen quires of the Italian book—he omitted the 'Sutilitate' which have their explanatory text in Italian and Spanish—and so the English translation too is but a portion of the whole. A new edition came out in 1569, while a still further abridged form of the text appeared in 1597 as part of a book entitled *Ludus Scacchiæ: Ghesse-play*. This work is described on the title-page as 'Translated out of the Italian into the English tongue. 'Containing also therein, A prety and pleasant Poeme of a

'whole Game played at Chesse. Written by G. B.' In reality it consists of about half the previous English translation from the French, with occasional slight alterations in the wording, together with a translation (here signed W. B.) of Bishop Hieronymo Vida's poem *Scacchiæ ludus*.

In 1589 John Thorius published an English translation of a treatise on government, the character of which is sufficiently explained by its title: *The Counsellor. A treatise of counsels and counsellors of princes, written in Spanish by Bartholomew Phillip*; but although the original was, as Thorius states, written in Spanish, it was the work of a Portuguese, Bartholomeu Filippe, and so it was printed at Coimbra in 1584, and falls to be included in his list.

Another work which at any rate professes to be translated from the Spanish must be mentioned here. In 1619 King Philip III of Spain made a state entry into Lisbon, and the English merchants there took part in welcoming him. Of the various pamphlets produced on that occasion describing the decorations and ceremonies, one was translated into English and published in the year of the event as *The Triumphant and Sumptuous Arch erected by the Company of English Marchants residing in Lisbon, vpon the Spanish Kings entry made thereinto*. This pamphlet is described on the title-page as 'Faithfully translated out of the Spanish originall'; but I know of no copy, printed or in manuscript, in that language. A Portuguese edition, however, is mentioned by J. Alenda y Mira in his *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España* (Madrid, 1903, no. 717), and we may perhaps assume that, as the celebrations were in Lisbon, the Portuguese text was the original from which the English derives, directly or indirectly.

This is the last of the miscellaneous items,<sup>1</sup> and concludes

<sup>1</sup> A work, quoted by Lowndes as 'A most fragrant Flower; or, devoute Exposition of the Lordes Prayer. Translated by J. G., 1598', is stated by Mr. Underhill, op. cit., to be taken from pt. 3 of Luis de Granada's *Compendio*

### 30 *English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640*

the list of the English translations from the Portuguese made before 1640 which are known to me. The number of these translations is not great : including the doubtful works dealt with above, there are some forty in all, about half of which relate to Portuguese voyages and travels. Rather more than half the remainder are concerned with historical events ; the rest are equally divided between literary and miscellaneous works. Compared with the English translations from the Spanish made during the same period, the total is small, but it is not disproportionately small, if the relative size of Spain and Portugal is taken into account. Spain, too, was nearer to England than was Portugal. The sea was an effective barrier between fairly distant countries, when voyages were longer and more uncertain than they are now ; and overland, Portugal was one frontier farther removed from England than Spain, politically during the first half of our period, linguistically during the whole period. This is reflected in the small number of translations of Portuguese works made from the Portuguese itself. It would be idle therefore to pretend that these translations were due to any general knowledge of the Portuguese language or any intrinsic interest in Portuguese affairs in England at this time. Portugal has all the more reason to be proud of the extent to which her various activities, especially on the sea and in distant lands, forced themselves on the attention of the English. We ourselves may take some credit for the fact that our ancestors recognized merit where they found it, while they were creating a literature with an undying reputation of its own.

*de doctrina christãa*. Although the *Compendio* was first printed in Portuguese at Lisbon in 1559—Luis de Granada being resident in that capital at the time—it really belongs to Spanish bibliography, for which reason I have not considered it above. I know of no separate English work with the title given by Lowndes.

## ANTHONY MUNDAY'S ROMANCES : A POSTSCRIPT

By GERALD R. HAYES



THE appearance of my article on 'Anthony Munday's Romances of Chivalry' in *The Library* for June 1925 led to the recovery of the copy of the *Second Booke of Primaleon of Greece* of 1596, formerly at Britwell, whose whereabouts could not be traced at the time that I was writing. This volume, now in my possession, contains matter of unexpected interest on several details in the bibliography of these books, in addition to the particular connexion in which it was before mentioned ; and as it offers, for the first time, conclusive evidence on more than one disputed point, it occupies a key position in the materials of the subject.

The copy is very imperfect as regards the text, but fortunately contains the prefatory matter intact. The collation of that portion, an exact copy of which is appended, is as follows : Title-page (mounted), verso blank ; sig. A ii, Dedication on recto and verso ; sig. A 3 (*sic*), letter from H. C. on recto and verso ; no sig. (A 4), verses signed M. D. on recto and verses signed H. C. on verso. The gatherings of the remainder of the volume are in fours, the first three leaves of each being signed. The format is the usual quarto, the text being in black letter.

It will assist to recapitulate the point at issue. The only known copy of *The First Booke of Primaleon of Greece* of 1595 (the first edition) is that in the British Museum, and it lacks the prefatory matter between the title-page and the first page of the text. The only known copy of the corresponding

*Second Booke* (1596) is that herein described. No copy of the *Third Book* is known before that in the composite reprint of 1619, but it was shown that an edition must have appeared about 1596-7. From the dedications to other books, it was also shown that about this time (1596) Munday appeared to be promising an edition of *Primaleon* to Mr. Francis Young, the patron of the re-issue of the companion works in the *Palmerin d'Oliva* cycle.

*Primaleon of Greece* was not reprinted until 1619, when the three parts were issued in one volume but with separate title-pages, pagination, &c. In this work Munday states in several places, and with the utmost definition, that each of the three parts had been dedicated on its first appearance to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. In the dedication to the *Second Book* (to Henry de Vere) he says :

And with the same unspotted affection, as at first it was presented to your most Noble Father, it commeth now (in all duetie) to you, his worthy sonne, with the very same hope of gracious acceptance, as then it found in true essence.

In face of such categorical affirmation, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it was natural to assume that the previous edition of *Primaleon Book II* had been offered to Lord Oxford. As will be seen from the dedication printed below, this reliance on Munday's good faith was needlessly ingenuous ; the purity of his dedications was by no means 'unspotted'. It is not for the bibliographer to turn moralist, and no attempt is made here to explain this extraordinary lapse ; but those interested in literary turpitude should consider that :

- (1) Munday had dedicated other works in the *Palmerin d'Oliva* cycle, on their first appearance, to Lord Oxford.
- (2) It was not until 1596 that Munday began dedicating the whole new issue to Mr. Young.
- (3) It is quite possible that *Primaleon Book I* (1595) was dedicated to Lord Oxford. From the dedication



quoted below, it is clear that it had not been addressed to Mr. Young.

- (4) The books, when reprinted in 1619, had been out of print for a long while (see Preface to *Book I*).

Amongst other aspects of the subject upon which the present volume throws light is Southey's contention that Munday employed 'deputy translators' to work for him. The dedication provides definite proof that this was so in the case of *Primaleon*, *Book I*, and hence possibly in other works. It must be remembered, however, that in this passage Munday is trying to extricate himself from the difficulty that the volume in question, an important link in the series, has not been offered to his new patron.

In the edition of 1619 the verses 'Of the Worke and Translation', signed M. D., are prefaced to *Book II*; those 'Of the Translation, against a Carper', signed H. C., are prefaced to *Book III*. It is of great interest to find that both these verses were originally prefaced to *Book II* in 1596, being respectively on the recto and verso of one leaf. Not only does the early appearance of the one set of verses practically confirm the identification of the signatory M. D. with Michael Drayton, but the conjunction of the other set with the letter signed 'H. C. Printer' also makes it certain that Henry Chettle was Munday's champion. This letter of Henry Chettle's disposes, once and for all, of the long controversy concerning the personality of Lazarus Pyott, the translator of the *Second Book of Amadis of Gaul*. It will be recalled that it was long assumed that Pyott was but a pseudonym for Munday, and that Dr. Thomas first questioned this and showed, by an examination of the prefatory matter in the two books that go under Pyott's name, that the two could not be identical. This was not accepted by certain Munday scholars, though a further investigation, by means of a comparison of the respective methods of translation of the *First*

and *Second Books of Amadis*, seemed to endow Pyott with an unimpeachable individuality. The letter and verse of H. C. here reproduced now provide him with an official passport to the realm of literature.

Before leaving Lazarus Pyott, one possible, if faint, clue to him may be mentioned. In Emanuel Forde's first work, *Parismus*, there is a postscript to the first part signed by one L. P., who claims to have induced Forde to allow his manuscript to be printed (presumably the customary fiction), and requests a kindly acceptance of the work and of the forthcoming sequel (*Parismenos*) which he has induced Forde to write.<sup>1</sup> As the first appearance of *Parismus* belongs to the period with which we are dealing, and in view of the nature of the work, there is a possibility that here Pyott has left another record of his existence.

Three further points of bibliographical interest may be gleaned from the dedication to Mr. Young quoted below :

The book was published after the *First Part*, and before the *Second Part*, of *Palmerin of England* (1596).

The supposition that the *Primaleon Book III* was dedicated to Lord Oxford was wrong ; that work was doubtless also addressed to Mr. Young on its first appearance.

The original edition of *Palmerin of England* probably had different prefatory matter, as Mr. Young only became Munday's patron in 1596. The original postscripts seem to have been preserved.

I may take this opportunity of amending a few points in my previous article. It was stated there that the imperfect copy of *Palmerin D'Oliva Part I*, bound up with the edition of *Part II* of 1597, was probably a copy of the original issue of 1588. It is quite obvious, on a comparison of the typography,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the edition of 1664 ; but it has every appearance of belonging to the original issue.

that this was wrong, and that the copy in question is a companion volume to the *Part II*.

Although it does not seem possible to adduce conclusive evidence one way or the other, a number of small points seem to suggest that the year-dating should be considered from 1 January, not from 25 March: I now feel that the earlier of the alternative datings mentioned for *Palmerin D'Oliva*, *Palladine*, and *Palmendos* should be accepted.

A careful comparison of the copy in the British Museum of *Palmerin of England Part I* with a title-page dated 1609, with the edition of 1639, confirms the view that the whole of the book, with the exception of the title-page, is a copy of the edition of 1639. This title-page is, then, the only surviving record known of an edition of *Palmerin of England Part I* of 1609: by analogy with all other editions it is probable that an issue of *Part II* accompanied it.

The edition of *Palmerin of England Part I* of 1616 was quoted on the authority of Hazlitt, H. 442: since the article appeared, I have been able to examine a copy of it.

The ambiguity about the 'Third Part of Palmerin d'Oliva' is not yet completely explained.

## THE SECOND BOOK OF PRIMALEON OF GREECE, 1596

### CONTENTS OF THE PRELIMINARY LEAVES

#### *Title-page.*

The second Booke of Primaleon | of Greece. | And Prince Edward of | England. |  
Continuing the course of their rare for-|tunes, Knightly Aduentures, successe | in  
Loue, and admirable escape from | verie perillous Enchauntments: | As the like  
delightfull Histo-|rie hath sildome been | heard of. |

Translated out of French by A. M. | one of the Messengers of her Ma-|iesties  
Chamber. |

*Patere aut abstine.* |

(ornament)

Printed at London by Iohn Danter for | Cuthberts Burby, and are to be sold | at  
his shop nere the Royall | Exchange. 1596.

*A ii—recto.*

(ornament)

To the right Worshipfull, Maister *Fraunces Young*, of *Brent-Pelham*, in the Countie of *Hertford Esquire*, and to the vertuous Gentlewoman *Mistres Susan Young his wife*, and my kinde fauouring *Mistres : health and all happinesse.*

After I sent vnto your Worships, the first Part of my translated *Palmerine of England*, and considered withall, that the same tooke his original from the third Part of this present Historie of *Primaleon*, which I am now translating and purpose (by Gods leaue) shortly to publish : I thought it necessarie to make you both my Patrones of this likewise, and the third, when it shall bee finished, that yee maye see the whole Chronicle of these famous Princes in their full perfection. And albeit it was not my hap to

doo

*A ii—verso.*

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

doo the first Part of *Primaleon*, (but onely the first foure sheetes thereof) by reason of my vrgent occasions at that time : so please yee to read it, it will giue ye the better entraunce into this historie, though I could haue wished there had been more paines taken in the Translation thereof. Notwithstanding, this second Volume, the third, and all the rest in order, euen to the verie conclusion of *Palmerin of Englands* famous historie, whereof I haue two Parts yet to put forth : will I present to you, as my most affected Patrones, and to whom I confes my selfe verie highly beholding. I haue no other meanes, whereby to expresse my thankfulness for so manie fauours : I beseech ye then make acceptance of this, & the rest in order, with whatsoeuer else remains in me at all times heereafter. So being onely yours at commaund, I humbly take my leaue.

*A: Mundy.*

(ornament)

To

*A 3—recto.*

(ornament)

To his good Friend M. *Anthony Mundy.*

Having met *Primaleons* second Part in the Printing-house, whence I haue long loytered, and where it hath been longer looked for, I haue done all my diligence to further the Edition, the rather for that (in my simple conceit) I haue not seen a Historie more delectable continued, nor (to be plaine with ye) anie thing by your selfe more pleasingly translated. I would not be here taken (for commending this) to be a condemner of *annie VVorke* by you before Englished : yet giue me leaue to note, that reproofe (how euer causelesse) makes him that can doo well, strue to make his good better, that his begun credite may be the more increased, and the needlesse find-faults absurditie, more worthely pointed at. This in you haue I especially obserued, since the Translator of *Amadis de Gaule* his second Part, (seeming to dwell farre from neighbors) speaking in his owne praise saith, That betweene the

first Part which you translated, and that of his, there should be found more than a dayes difference. This peremptorie concept of himselfe, made me expect somwhat extraordinarie, wherein I was not deceiu'd, for within a few lines I found where he tells us of a King, that married the Emperour of Constantinople : which error (being but one among manie as grosse) this bolde Censurer will needes cast upon the Printer. I tell ye M. Mundy, this tuschts me neere, for a hundred such burdens

A 3—verso.

To his Friend Ma: A. Mundy.

dens haue I borne. The custome is common, when an Author or Translator (either ignorant or negligent) palpably erre, then the Printer (forsooth) as if hee had deserved to stand with a paper on his head at euerie Stationers stall, must make a great Errata, calling the Title, Faults escaped in the Printing : when (God knowes) should he let but halfe the faults passe of manie such VVriters, he should make them be as well laught at, as an upstart attourney lately was at a Leete : who beginning to open his Clients Title to the Iudge, said. Vnderstand Sir, that Robert Norman late of Brampton Yeoman, tooke to wife Iohn Beeden, daughter to Walter Beeden of the same parish widdow : whereat the whole Court laughing, he would haue laid the burden on his man, who in drawing his Remembrances, had writ Iohn for Ione, & Walter for Winefride. I would wish that Translator so to excuse his Kings marriage with the Emperour. Or, let him say, he found it so in the French Copie (for those Printers are far hence) and because he would be singular for translating verbally, being an absurditie in French, he let it passe in English. But for our Printers in England (were he Diues, who in these dayes can doo more than Lazarus) I dare affirme there is none of them will let so grosse a fault passe, except of purpose to make a grosse Braggart ridiculous. So leauing him, and wishing you to hasten your Translation of the third part. I end.

Your old Well-willer:  
H. C. Printer.

A 4—recto.  
(ornament)

*Of the VVorke and Translation.*

If in opinion of iudiciall wit,  
Primaleons sweet Inuention well deserue :  
Then he (no lesse) which hath translated it,  
Which doth his sense, his forme, his phrase obserue.  
And in true method of his home-borne stile,  
(Following the fashion of a French conceate)  
Hath brought him heere into this famous Ile,  
Where but a Stranger now hath made his seate.  
He liues a Prince, and comming in this sort,  
Shall to his Countrey of your fame report.

(ornament)

M. D.

38     *Anthony Munday's Romances : A Postscript*

*A 4—verso.*  
(ornament)

*Of the Translation, against a Carper.*  
Delicious phrase, well follow'd acts of glorie,  
Mixture of Loue among fierce martiall deedes,  
(Which great delight vnto the Reader breeds)  
Hath th'Inuenter kept t'adorne this Storie.

The same forme is obseru'd by the Translator,  
*Primaleon* (sweet in French) keeps here like grace :  
Checking that Foole who (with a blushles face)  
To praise himselfe, in Print will be a prater.  
Peace chattring Py, be still, poore *Lazarus* :  
Rich are his gifts, that thus contenteth vs.

(ornament)

*H. C.*

## DERBY HIS HAND—AND SOUL

By W. W. GREG



WILLIAM STANLEY, sixth Earl of Derby, was reported in the summer of 1599 to be 'busye Penning comedyes for the common players', on the strength of which I ventured to class him among the professional dramatists, and included specimens of his handwriting in the first part of *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650* (Oxford, 1925). The identification of his hand was not at first obvious, and it was some time before I satisfied myself that the letter I reproduced from the Hatfield papers was in fact holograph. At the time I was considering the matter I was not aware that any previous attempt had been made to solve the problem, but Sir Edmund Chambers has recently called my attention to an article that appeared in *The Genealogist* in 1892 (N.S., viii. 146). It is a collection of notes by James Harris Greenstreet, published soon after his death, and includes some matter concerning Derby. 'I believe', he writes, 'I was the first to ascertain without doubt the private handwriting of the Earl.' Accompanying the article are two facsimiles of letters of Derby's, one from the Record Office described as 'Holograph letter of William, 6th Earl of Derby, 31st Oct. 1607', the other as 'Letter under-written by William, 6th Earl of Derby, 16th Dec. 1605.' These letters are reproduced (slightly reduced) in Plates I and II accompanying this article.

It is not, I think, hard to understand how Greenstreet came to believe that he had discovered Derby's handwriting. In the letter of 1605 (B.M., MS. Add. 12506, f. 177) he found the body written in what he recognized as the hand of a scribe, while another and more current hand added a hasty



postscript. When, therefore, he found this second hand apparently writing the whole of the letter of 1607 (P.R.O., S.P. Dom., James I, xxviii. 80), it was natural enough to jump to the conclusion that it was holograph.

But as a matter of fact it is by no means certain that the postscript of 1605 was written by a different person from the body of the letter, and I am obliged to Mr. Pollard for maintaining in face of my initial scepticism that they present in fact but the English and Italian hands of the same scribe. Closer examination has convinced me that this is very probably the case, while no less an authority than Mr. J. P. Gilson likewise concurs. A comparison of the 'My' that begins the exordium and the 'Yo' that begins the subscription in each letter, even more of the numerals of the date, leaves little room for doubt, while other minor points of contact are not wanting. If this is so, there is less reason for supposing it to be Derby's hand rather than that of a secretary, and indeed one would have thought that any one studying these two letters would have paused for a moment to wonder whether the hand that traced the formal and rather laboured signatures was likely to have been capable of the dashing style of the text.

As a matter of fact there can hardly be a doubt that Greenstreet was mistaken. Derby's letters reveal a very considerable number of different hands, and it is clear that he habitually availed himself of an amanuensis. Of some score I have examined at the British Museum, at the Record Office, and at Hatfield, only two, I believe, are holograph. The clue to his hand is supplied by a long business letter to Burghley of July 1596 (B.M., MS. Lansd. 82, art. 13, fol. 26). Of this the body is clearly in the hand of a secretary, but it is subscribed in a very different style, a loose, fine, rather fantastic writing: 'Your lo: lovinge sonn: Will: Derby:' (Plate III). We may take it that when a man sits down to sign a letter prepared by his secretary he does not call in another scribe to add

four words of introductory formula. Indeed, it is a proposition to which there are probably few exceptions that such a subscription is either in the hand of the body of the letter or else in the hand of the signature, where these are distinct. Now, the hand of the subscription in Plate III, easily recognizable by its curious 'u', is found in the body of two undated letters, one at the British Museum, the other at Hatfield. The latter, which is endorsed January '1595', I have reproduced in *English Literary Autographs* (XXIX b). The former, preserved among the Burghley papers in the Lansdowne collection (MS. 76, art. 76, fol. 172), is of 13 September 1594, and is here reproduced in Plate IV. This fully bears out the presumption that the subscription in Plate III is autograph. One has only to compare the curiously clubbed or dotted tops of the 'D' and 'b' of the signature with a whole row of similar forms in the first line of the text, and the sharp tick at the base of some letters of the name with that which gives rise to the peculiar 'u' and appears in many other letters in the body of the document.

It might be asked whether in the course of ten or twelve years the hand of Plate IV might not have developed into that of Plate II. If the former were that of a boy the possibility might be considered. But that a man who wrote the one at the age of thirty-three should have written the other at forty-five, his signature meanwhile remaining substantially unchanged, is not, I think, a reasonable proposition. Moreover, once the postscript and the text in Plate I are recognized as being in one hand, all reason for supposing this, rather than any other of the numerous hands appearing in the earl's correspondence, to be autograph, vanishes.

Here the serious interest of the matter ends, but there is a further development which is not without its amusing side. Again I am in Sir Edmund's debt. William Earl of Derby is the hero of Monsieur Abel Lefranc's book *Sous le masque de*

*William Shakespeare*, which may be known to readers as one of the abler attempts to rob the Stratford actor of his literary property. It naturally occurred to M. Lefranc that it would be interesting to examine the handwriting of his claimant, and he procured the two facsimiles out of the *Genealogist*. The rest of the story must be told in his own words.<sup>1</sup>

L'écriture du comte est assurément l'une des plus belles et des plus élégantes qui se puissent rencontrer. Au moment où ces reproductions me parvinrent, il y a huit mois, je les communiquais au distingué président de la Société de Graphologie de France, M. J. Depoin, dont la compétence remarquable est universellement reconnue, en les lui présentant comme des spécimens de l'écriture d'un personnage que je rencontrais au cours d'un travail historique, et sans paraître attacher à ces documents une importance particulière. Après un examen de quelques minutes, dans son cabinet, au siège de Société, sans enquête préalable, M. Depoin me communiqua sur la psychologie de l'auteur des autographes une série de données tellement justes et frappantes, alors qu'il ne connaissait même pas le nom du personnage, que j'en éprouvai une des plus grandes surprises de ma vie. Toutefois, je m'imposai de n'en rien faire paraître, notant au fur et à mesure toutes ses remarques, que j'ai précieusement conservées. Il est important d'observer que personne ne connaissait, dans son milieu, mes recherches sur la question shakespearienne (22 fév. 1918). Voici, sous une forme concise, les principales remarques du président de la Société de graphologie : <sup>2</sup>

Superbe type d'écriture. Assimilation. Caractère accentué. Grande valeur intellectuelle. Personnalité très élevée. Forte réflexion. Une personne dont les pensées reviennent fortement sur elle-même. Beaucoup d'imagination. Variété très sensible de graphisme. Indice de grande mobilité affective. Phénomène prodigieux des facultés affectives ; partie de l'écriture : homme intraitable, dur ; autre partie : personne simplement passionnée et susceptible d'entraînement. Pourquoi le graphisme change-t-il, alors qu'il était si tendre, si sensible ? L'auteur a subi quelques disgrâces. Élégance très intéressante. Goût. Sentiment du beau, des arts. Enormément de relief. Tout à fait au-dessus de la moyenne. Très grande culture qui apparaît dans la simplification des signes graphiques ; habitude d'écrire beaucoup en conservant les éléments essentiels des mots.

<sup>1</sup> Abel Lefranc. *Sous le masque de 'William Shakespeare' William Stanley vis comte de Derby*. Tome I. Payot et C<sup>o</sup>, Paris, 1919, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Si quelque chose de peu clair apparaît dans ces notes, la faute m'en est imputable, et non à M. Depoin. Ses remarques se succédaient très rapidement. Il n'y a eu aucun remaniement, ce qui explique certaines répétitions.

Signe marqué d'instruction appliquée, pleinement réalisée. Phénomène de grande mobilité. Affections susceptibles d'être portées d'un pôle à l'autre sur le domaine sensoriel. L'auteur a lutté avec habileté. Prudence qui lui était nécessaire en raison de sa mobilité. Haute distinction d'un esprit très supérieur. Energie. — Ecriture d'un lettré : certaines lettres ont une inspiration grecque. Homme très instruit pour son temps. En somme, intelligence surprenante. Tempérament émotif. Ecriture penchée : acquisition ; écriture droite : innéité. Graphie d'un homme qui écrivait beaucoup.

Quelques jours plus tard, avait lieu la réunion mensuelle de la Société de graphologie. Aucune indication ne lui fut fournie. Les deux fac-similés placés sous les yeux des membres suggérèrent des observations analogues à celles du président ; toutefois, certaines des caractéristiques dégagées par la réunion comportèrent, comme il est naturel, des précisions nouvelles que nous croyons utile de reproduire :

Méthode, sensualité, égoïsme intellectuel, cérébralité, art des nuances. Grande émotivité. Sauts de caractère : tantôt brusque et dure, tantôt courtois et bien élevé. Secret, mystérieux. Ouverture d'âme très variable : tantôt le sujet se livre, tantôt il garde sa pensée. Alternance de vie cachée et d'épanchements. Esprit éminent, au-dessus de toute vulgarité, qui a pu agir sur son entourage et sur son époque, même dans un pays hiérarchisé. Très grande culture, puissance verbale d'élocution fort développée ; composait avec un style choisi. A dû montrer de la grâce, de l'imagination, de l'activité. A pu faire des vers. Souplesse, clarté, élégance. Grande flexibilité de l'imagination. Intelligence à antennes ; recueillait de tous côtés. Contacts avec beaucoup de choses. Jalousie sexuelle. Magnifique signature, plus française qu'anglaise.

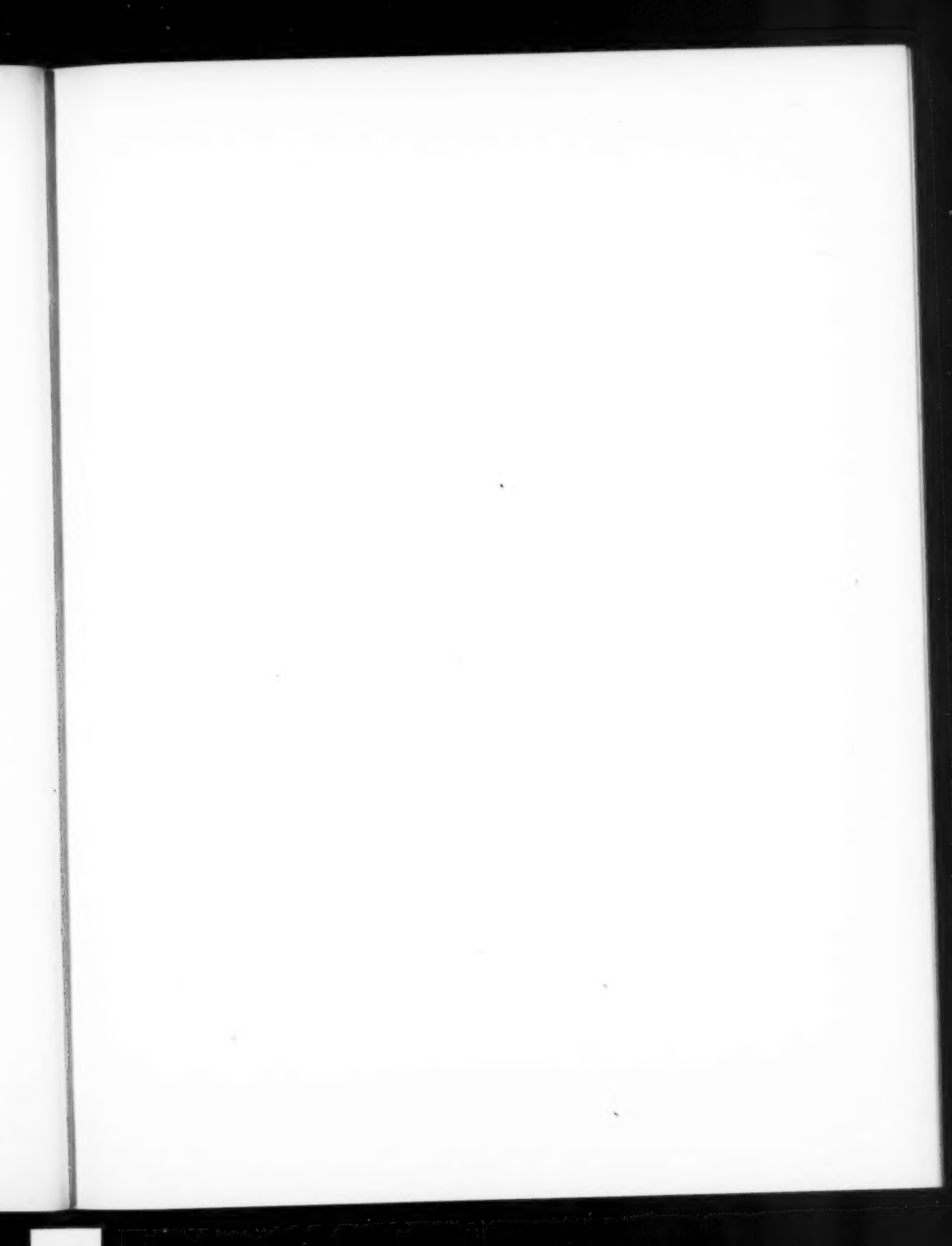
Reading this account one cannot but appreciate the ingenuous modesty of the writer, and I would particularly direct attention to the foot-note wherein M. Lefranc takes on himself the blame for any obscurities in the President's report. We must not, of course, look for verbal accuracy, but the whole bears on the face of it the stamp of truth.

Now, M. Lefranc does not himself discuss the documents in question, and it is therefore not possible to say whether he was aware that only one of the letters was claimed by Greenstreet as holograph. But it is pretty clear that neither the President nor the other members of the Graphological

Society had any suspicion that there might be more than one hand in question. Since it is probable that Greenstreet was in error in supposing it, the Graphologists may be taken to have started with a distinct if fortuitous advantage. I am also so far in agreement with them as to regard the hand as a notable one. Not only is it the hand of a practised writer, it may be admitted to show considerable 'character'; though I would suggest that 'character' in a hand and in the writer are not always concomitant. The hand is not the inevitable mirror of the soul.

What the French Graphologists evidently did not know was that in England in Derby's day most practised penmen habitually wrote two very different hands. Not every Elizabethan who varied the regular 'secretary' script of the time with the more recently imported Italian style suffered from dual personality or was leading a double life! Yet it is upon this dimorphism that the diagnosis of the Graphologists rests. The President, it will have been observed, distinguishes between the upright and the sloping hand (that is, between the English script of the letter and the Italian of the post-script in Plate I) and asks why the character of the writing changes, revealing different temperaments. The effect, he concludes, of some great emotional crisis, some dishonour undergone. This suggestion of a dissociated personality is caught up by the other members. There are sudden revolutions of character, from courteous to surly. Beneath a superficial expansiveness there lies a hidden life. What else, indeed, could you expect when this rather insignificant nobleman was writing the greatest imaginative literature of his age! No wonder M. Lefranc was impressed and treasured up the grandiose suggestions of this strange rigmale.

For anything I know the writer of the two letters of 1605 and 1607 may have been quite as remarkable a man as the Graphologists assert; for anything I know he may have









My very good L. I understand by this over  
your humble command of y<sup>e</sup> City of Chester, that  
he intendeth to become an humble petitioner to  
his Ma<sup>ties</sup> as well in the behalf of himself as  
of y<sup>e</sup> said City, and likewise to present a  
petition in y<sup>e</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Council for y<sup>e</sup> bearing  
of a Cause before y<sup>e</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> touching a stone  
wall or causeway erected upon y<sup>e</sup> river of Der  
went by y<sup>e</sup> said City. And whereas as he is  
one who hath given good testimony of his con  
fidence in me I could do no less than at his  
request make bold to commend him to y<sup>e</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
in the consideration And this brings all my regards  
to me at this time I heartily commend me to y<sup>e</sup>  
City and so take my leave. Hoping y<sup>e</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
of October 1607

Y<sup>e</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> Henry  
James  
Wm. Herbert

The 3d. of May 1763 New Bedford. my dear  
 Sir I am glad to hear from you and hope  
 you are well. I have been thinking of writing  
 you some time but have been so busy that I  
 could not find time. I am now at home and  
 hope to be able to write you more fully soon.  
 I am very truly your friend  
 J. B.

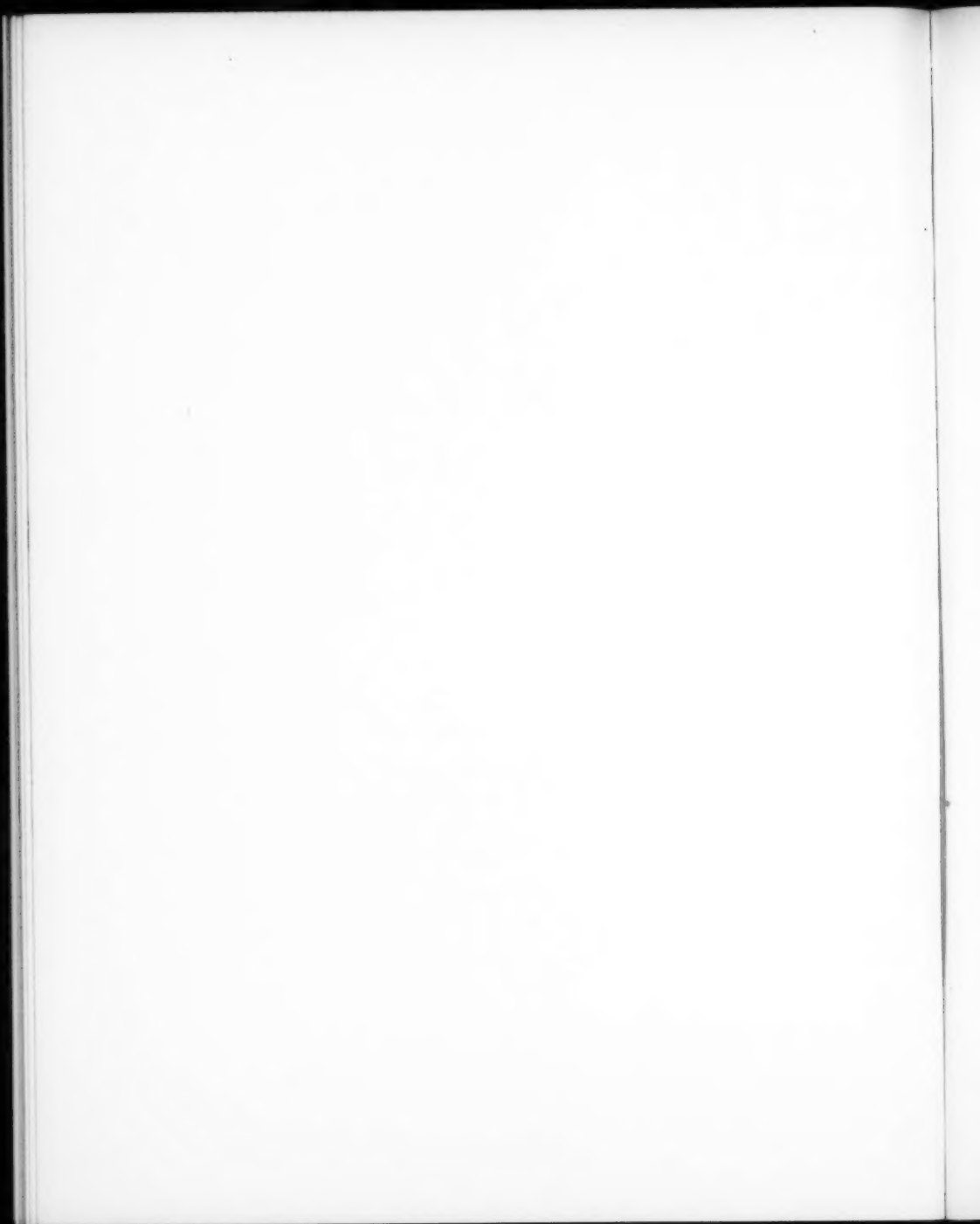
No 1076: Linn. Sp. Pl.

W. L. Dyer

My very ho: good Lo: I understand by my servants, Ireland and daughter  
that according to your Lo: last speeche they have thoughtly requyred  
your Lo: w<sup>th</sup> my estate and that none yt please the your Lo: to refer  
the further beddinge to my beddinge y<sup>t</sup>ther none or the next terme to be  
consummated: how gratefull the message was unto me I leave to your  
Lo: to consider. In which cause I pray your Lo: to consider my affayres  
to that both a. the advantage of my benefices, the gladninge of  
my well-wishers, and the mustyng me in this estat, whereunto  
Almighty god hath called me. In which by so ho: a patron  
I pray my be: and Mystris to both some contentments and your Lo:  
comfort god the worker of all goodnes may send me. I somenwher  
I wish your Lo: allowance of present dispende & exchequer  
I must and will be wholly directed by your Lo: in this and all other  
respects And soe humbly take my leave. I from my house att Charnage  
this xiiiij<sup>th</sup> of September.

Your Lo: assured friend to command

W. T. D. B. V.



written Shakespeare's plays. But in that case they were not written by William, sixth Earl of Derby, for the letters are not in his hand. His own writing is seen in Plate IV, and I rather wonder what the Society of French Graphologists would make of it. It is not inelegant in its way, but it is surely not the hand of a fluent writer, nor, I should imagine, of a powerful personality. Is it 'Shakespeare's'?

## ULRICH ZELL'S EARLY QUARTOS

By FRANCIS JENKINSON<sup>1</sup>



ULRICH ZELL, at the time we are concerned with (June, 1464), maintained a high standard both in composition and in press work. But, although he was an accomplished printer, he had not learned, or did not choose, to print more than one page at a time. Perhaps every one may not know how this is ascertained.

We are concerned entirely with quarto books. If a later printer was printing a book in this form, he took a sheet, printed four pages at once on one side and then four, at the back of them, on the other. When such a sheet is folded, it forms four leaves (eight pages), and the watermark or device which every sheet of handmade paper has is in the back margin of one pair of leaves, while in the back of the other pair there is none. An early printer might place a second sheet inside the first, to form a *quire* of eight leaves. Then you would have four leaves with a watermark (or part of it) appearing in the back margin, and four without. Now suppose you take up a book and find that six leaves shew a watermark and two do not, or vice versa. What does that shew? It shews that before the paper was printed on, each sheet was cut into two half-sheets; so that the unit becomes a half-sheet, which may or may not have a watermark, instead of a *sheet*, which must have a watermark in one or other of its half-sheets, but cannot have more. A printer who uses his paper in half-sheets, clearly did not, and probably could not, print four quarto pages at once. Indeed this practice of printing by half-sheets continues

<sup>1</sup> Read at Cambridge as a Sandars Lecture, 4 December 1908.

even in quite modern times to be characteristic of a press that is on a small scale, sometimes of a press that is worked surreptitiously or otherwise under difficult conditions.

Zell used his paper in half-sheets. But he did not even print two pages at once. We find commonly in his books that the two pages which occupy one side of the half-sheet, and which therefore might be imposed and printed together, are not parallel, but are inclined to one another sometimes at a considerable angle. But there is other evidence. In a latish book (*Gerson de passionibus animae*, ed. 2) we find the half-sheet which forms leaves 27 and 30 misprinted. The verso of leaf 27 ought to be blank: but it contains the text which should have occupied the verso of leaf 30. That is to say, the verso of leaf 30 was not printed with the recto of leaf 27, but by itself: and the pressman, taking up a half-sheet with the second and fourth pages blank, put the wrong blank page under the press.

I will now examine his early books in order, and begin with the 1466 Chrysostom.

This is Zell's first dated book. It is therefore worth while to note its characteristics, as a standard with which to compare the three early undated quartos.

Opening the book at the first page, we find no printed heading, nor even a space left for a heading to be written in. Space is left for a 4-line initial P.

The comma is used frequently at the end of a sentence.

The book consists of ten leaves or five half-sheets. In the British Museum copy (unfortunately there is not one in Cambridge) four out of five half-sheets have watermarks, shewing that the paper was divided into half-sheets before it was used for printing.

The fount consisted of rather over 200 sorts, including a large number of abbreviations and compound letters. On one page a strange capital I appears several times. I have not



Pascebat fuis tu<sup>9</sup> p<sup>ri</sup>s sui gregē fr<sup>at</sup>remiebat leo vel  
 v<sup>er</sup>sus/tollebatq; ariete; de medio gregis et seq̄bat  
 eos et p<sup>er</sup>uiciebā et ueliebāq; de ore eorū. et illi cōgebāt  
 aduersū me et apprehēdebā mētū eorū et suffocabā  
 interficiebāq; eos. Erat igit<sup>r</sup> et philisteus hic incir  
 cūcisus quasi vnus eorū. Credidit rex signi magni  
 tudē; et dixit ad d<sup>eu</sup>m. Induē arma mea et sic egredē  
 Q<sup>ui</sup>d cū feciss<sup>et</sup> iux<sup>ta</sup> morē; p<sup>ro</sup>gredi nō valebat q<sup>ui</sup> nō p<sup>ro</sup>mi  
 ttebat fici hoc d<sup>eu</sup>s s<sup>ed</sup> ut nud<sup>9</sup> vincēt et nō arma saul  
 v<sup>ir</sup>tutē victorie p<sup>ro</sup>terēt<sup>ur</sup>. ne diceret rex q<sup>ui</sup> armavicerēt  
 mea p<sup>ro</sup>p<sup>ri</sup>et et induit fiducia. Egred<sup>is</sup> nud<sup>9</sup> et loricator  
 fide egred<sup>is</sup> pastor et miles Jactat lapidē nō natura  
 corporis fides s<sup>ed</sup> v<sup>ir</sup>tute fidei. Ex vno iotatu fundē in frō  
 te p<sup>er</sup>cussit blasphemū. quo corruētē cucurrit et acce  
 pto gladio ei<sup>9</sup> amputauit caput illius ut cōpleret  
 illud q<sup>ui</sup>d scriptū ē. In opib<sup>us</sup> manuū suarū corruit y<sup>er</sup>u<sup>9</sup>  
 sonitu sēpiterno Et nūc in noie d<sup>omi</sup>ni reportauit ex bo  
 ste victoriā et abstulit in t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>e illo obprobriū a filiis  
 isrl<sup>el</sup>. itez post victoriā zel<sup>us</sup> it<sup>er</sup>m inuidia. Per singula  
 quippe effodio fōtē inuidie ut ipsa vena possit ocul<sup>is</sup>  
 apparere et sic g<sup>ra</sup>tal ac tantus vir etate doctior v<sup>ir</sup>fu  
 tudine p<sup>ro</sup>cessu t<sup>em</sup>p<sup>or</sup>is sapiētior de quo dixit deus et nūc  
 mi dauid filiū p<sup>ro</sup>se virū sed m<sup>in</sup> cor meum. O predara  
 p<sup>ro</sup>coma. O laudes excelsē. O virtutū magnitudo  
 d<sup>omi</sup>nator ei dicit. et nūc mi d<sup>eu</sup>m filiū p<sup>ro</sup>se fm cor meum  
 et sic inq<sup>ui</sup> bestias supauit qui goliath interfecit  
 qui leonē suffocauit qui ursū stragulauit. qui i vir  
 tute senior. corpe adolescēs. mēte grādeus qui in  
 regali culmine poset<sup>ur</sup> vitā monachi imitabat dice  
 bat em. Nō margaritis cōnabo lēn<sup>em</sup> meū s<sup>ed</sup> lacrimis  
 p<sup>ro</sup> singulas noctes lauabo strātū meum. Nūc autē  
 hoies nō solū in nocte s<sup>ed</sup> in die dormiūt et ille autē in  
 die p<sup>ro</sup>curabat palacium et nocte deo vacabat ut fi

Chrysostom, super psalmo miserere. per me Vlricū Zel, 1466, leaf 5 a.

Small capital i unrubricated in l. 21, rubricated in lines 22, 25, 26, 32.

utile esse qđ sit iniustū. Nec qui nō didicēit bonus  
vir esse non potest.

Imbriam consularem audiebā de patre nostro  
puer iudicē. M. lucio ppythie fuisse equitio  
mano sane honesto cū hīs sponſionē feciss; nī vir  
bonus eēt. & a populo exterminaretur. Itaq; dixisse  
ei fimbriam se illā rem nunq̃ iudicaturū ne aut spo  
liaret fama probatū hominem. si contra iudicauiſſet.  
aut statuisse videretur viz bonū eē aliq̃ cū ea res m  
numerabilib; officijs et laudib; cōtineretur. Hinc  
ergo vito bono quem fimbria etiā non modo socra  
tes nouerat nullo modo videri potest quicq̃ cōvile  
qđ nō honestū sit. Itaq; talis vir nō modo facere  
sine cogitatē quicq̃ audebit qđ nō audeat p̃dicatē  
hoc nō turpe est etiā dubitatē phōs que nec iustici  
quidē dubitēt a quib; natū est id qđ iam certū ē ve  
ritate prouerbū. Cū em̃ fidē alicuius bonitatēq;  
laudāt dignū eē dicūt. q̃ cū in tenebris mīces hoc  
quā habz vim nisi illam. nichil expedire qđ nō dece  
at etiam si non possis nullo refellente obtinē. Vi  
des ne hoc prouerbio neq; supradicto gygi illi pos  
se viam dari. neq; huic quem paulo ante fingebā  
digitor; percussione. hereditates onīū posse ouer  
tere. Vt ei qđ turpe ē id q̃uis occultet tū honestū  
fieri nullo mō potest sic qđ honestū nō ē id utile ut  
sit effici nō potest aduersante repugnāte natura

T cū cūp magna premia

sint est causa peccandi. G. mari9

cū a spe consulatus longe abesset etiam septimū an  
num post p̃teturam iaceret neq; petiturus vnquā  
consulatum videretur. Qui metellum cuius legatus  
erat viūsumū et ciuē cū ab eo impatore suo romā  
missus ess; apđ populū rō. criminatus ē bellū illud  
ducere si se consulem fecissent breui tpe aut viūū aut

Cicero, *De Officiis*. Undated, leaf 55 b.

Normal large 1/2 line 3; smaller, lines 6 and 13.

found it anywhere else. What is the explanation of its appearance on the scene? Another capital or rather small capital I has made me decide to put the Cicero *de officiis* after and not before the Chrysostom. There are two forms of this letter, one occurring in both these books, the other only in the latter part of the *De Officiis*. This affords a definite argument for placing the Chrysostom first. It would have been agreeable enough to put the *De Officiis* first, and to regard it as possibly the first classic ever printed. But the arguments for doing so are, it seems to me, fallacious. It is running things rather fine to argue that a book with 34 lines to the page is earlier than a book with 33, because the two next books have 32 and 31. And although the four blank leaves at the end of the *De Officiis* may be due to miscalculation and indicate inexperience, it is equally possible that they were meant to be filled, as in my copy they are in fact filled, by a manuscript table of contents.

These two books stand alone. They shew no use of the hyphen; commas are freely used in both, though not constantly: in two quires of the Cicero they occur on the rectos of the leaves, but not on the versos. [We must not jump to the conclusion that one compositor favoured them less than the other: for the treatment of the right-hand margin of the page is sometimes different on the two sides of the leaf, probably because on the verso, where it is the inner margin, it is much less conspicuous.<sup>1</sup>]

The two books that follow, with 32 and 31 lines to the page, come very near to the first two. There is still no printed heading, although in the earlier of the two, two lines are left blank. A few commas survive in this book, most of them on one page. In the second book there are none. Both these books shew a profuse (though not constant) use of hyphens

<sup>1</sup> Against this paragraph in his MS. Mr. Jenkinson put the note 'omit'. He had similar doubts as to paragraphs here printed on pp. 61, 62. Ed.

where words are divided at the end of a line. These hyphens are outside the line, which I see from the British Museum Catalogue is also the case in Schoeffer's early books.

The second of these books is a peculiar book by Jean Gerson, called the *Alphabet of Divine Love*. In fact several sections of it consist of sentences or phrases beginning with the letters of the alphabet in succession. Apart from the devotional aspect of the contents, the effect is very pretty, the capitals being put in by the rubricator.

The 1467 Augustine has always been recognized as showing a new departure in Zell's typography. Instead of 30 to 34 lines in a page, his books henceforward have uniformly 27 lines, with an occasional 28, for which there is probably in each case some special reason. There are also two books by Nider with 30 lines to the page; but they are quite unlike the early (1466) group.

Why a change was made from the 1466 style we do not know. It was certainly not, as such changes are apt to be, in the direction of economy. The size of the page was reduced, so that a given book would occupy more pages and require so many more operations of the press. This difference was made still greater by casting the type on a larger body; so that a page of a given size contained fewer lines than before. If economy was not the reason for the change, the motive was probably aesthetic. And if we look at the books, with their ample and well-proportioned margins, we shall agree that the author of the change knew what he was about.

The 1467 book seems to shew him feeling his way. He has made up his mind as to the dimensions of a page of type, about 135 mm. by 80 mm. But he has not settled how many lines of type that space is to contain. He begins with 25 lines leaded; but after four pages, he tries 28 lines, without leads, exactly resembling, except in number, the lines in the 1466 group of books, where 20 lines measure 95-96 mm. This is

retained to the end of the first quire, except on the verso of the seventh leaf, where for the first time we have a page of 27 lines, measuring as much as the 28 lines of the other pages, and therefore presumably cast on a very slightly larger body. Twenty lines measure 98 mm. instead of 95-96 mm.

The second quire begins with a page of 28 lines as before: the next page has only 27 lines, but they are 27 lines of the 28-line type, i. e. on the smaller body; so the page measures only 130 mm. This looks more like a mistake than an experiment. The next page, the third of the second quire, sees the final adoption of the 27-line page exactly as on the verso of the seventh leaf in the first quire.

Dr. Voulliéme, to whom, following Proctor, I endeavour to be grateful for what he has done in his list of Cologne fifteenth-century books, gives a curiously inaccurate account of these facts. He says: 'the first four pages of his [i. e. Zell's] *Augustinus de uita christiana* of this year [1467] show the 'expanded form of this type, while for page 5 and the following pages he went back to his first type, with which about 'this time he printed some fifteen other books.' In this account I believe I am right in saying every statement made is inexact. The type on the first four pages is so leaded that no one can tell whether it is cast on the larger body or on the smaller. It may be the new type; but the presumption is in favour of its being the old. It is true that page 5 and the next six pages are printed with the old type. But then, as we saw, the new type enters on the scene, and soon takes sole possession; and it is with it and not with the old type that Zell printed about this time not fifteen other books, but, more precisely, twelve. The number fifteen is obtained by inserting four books which do not belong to this group at all and leaving out one, *Cicero de amicitia*, that does.

In the British Museum is a copy of the Augustine showing a curious variation in the thirty-eighth leaf. The verso is

exactly as in other copies ; but the recto is reprinted, with a larger page and the late form of lower-case *b*. The leaf is pasted to a guard, but it is difficult to regard it as a cancel, although I have so described in my notebook what is probably a similar leaf in one of the copies in the Bodleian Library. I should like to examine both leaves again. Provisionally, I suggest that in some copies one side was accidentally left blank, and that when the stock ran low, and these copies were wanted, the missing page was set up in the style of the period, the leaf cut out to be put under the press, and then pasted in again.

On looking at the copy in the University Library, I find that here, too, leaf 38 is attached with paste. But unlike the British Museum copy, it has the page of type on the recto of the ordinary measure, and it has the old form of *h*.

It is hardly possible to look at such a book as the 1467 Augustine and then at any of the books which are numbered in Proctor 816 to 878 (that is to say, 63 out of the 82 Zell quartos then in the British Museum and the Bodleian), without noticing a difference in the general appearance of the page. Apart from variations in the size of the printed page, deterioration in execution, and other changes, the main cause of this alteration in appearance is the introduction of a new form of the letter *b*. In the earlier books it is almost closed like a *b*, and does not project below the line : in the later books it is wide open, and the second stroke projects obliquely below the line. As soon as this fact is noticed, it would seem natural to search for the book in which the new *b* is first used, to take it as a fixed point, and to range all the books with only the early *b* on one side of it and all the books with the new *b* on the other. It will not escape notice that the compound letters *be* and *bo* and the contraction *b'* undergo a similar change : but for the moment let us confine our attention to the simple *b*. Fortunately the introduction of the new form

utroūq; intuerē diligēt<sup>9</sup> a accēde ppius ad  
singulorū sepulchra. Vide cineres solos a fe  
tidos vermū reliquias. a recordaē hūc ēē cor  
porū finem. etiā si in delicijs a leticia. etiā si in  
labore a cōtinentia tūsegerit vitā. at; vūnam  
res omnis. omisq; causa nostra usq; ad cine  
res veniret a vermes. parua viderentur hec  
damna. a que facile excusare possit nature  
conditio.

**N**unc autē uerte oculos tuos ab istis ci  
neribus a sepulchris. a reuoca cogita  
tō; tuā ad id dñi iudici; tribunal horrendū  
qđ ardēs fluii<sup>9</sup> flāmeis ambit fluētis vbi fle  
t<sup>9</sup> a stridos dentū. ubi tenebre extēiores. ubi  
ille v̄mis osāe q̄ nunq̄ morit̄. a ignis q̄ nun  
q̄ extinguitur. Recordaē patolā lazari. a diui  
tis illi<sup>9</sup> q̄ opū tātarū dñs q̄ purpura indutus  
a bysso vnam tūc aque guttā inuēire nō po  
tuit a hoc cum esset in ardoris necessitate con  
stitutus. Dic queso te quid plus batet hec  
vita q̄ sompnum. Sic enim qui in metallis  
condempnatū vel in alia qualibet pena positi  
cum forte post multum laborem dure vite pau  
lulum relaxati fuerint in sompnum a vidēt  
se inter plures dapes positos epulis copio  
sissimis perfrui ac vbi surreperunt nichil sibi  
gracie ex delectacōne sompni; inueniūt rese  
disse. ita diues ille q̄ si somnū habuit huius



**Q**uod quidē possibile tibi est et ex hīs  
 noscē que p singulos dies geri videm⁹  
 potes tñ etiā ex scripturis dñis euēter ad  
 uertē. Intuē deniq; vel in pñcipijs iheremie  
 q̄ referūtur de deo. vel apud reliquos pphas  
 quō cū despiceret a contempnētur a populo tñ  
 rursus reuertebat ad eos a amore eorū cōstri  
 ctus sedabatur eos etiā auersos a se. a hoc ē  
 qđ ipse dñs in euāgelijis iudicat cū dicit ihe  
 rusalē iherlm q̄ occidis pphas a lapidas mis  
 sos ad te quociēs volui aggregare filios tuos  
 sicut gallina aggregat pullos suos sibi alis suis  
 a noluisti. Sz a Paulus dicit ad corinth. scri  
 lēs aplūs. Quomā deus erat in xpō mūdū re  
 cōciliās sibi. nō reputans illis delicta ipōrū. a  
 posuit in nos verbū recōciliacōis. Pro cristo  
 ergo legacōe fūgimur sicut deo depeante per  
 nos. rogam⁹ pro xpō recōciliāmi deo. Hoc et  
 ad nos dici putem⁹. Non ei solū. ifidelitas in  
 felicitas si etiā uite cōtaminacō. execrābiles istas  
 inimiciās facit int̄ deū a hoiez. Sic ei a aplūs  
 dic̄ Quia sapiētia carnis inimica est deo. Age  
 ḡ destruam⁹ hūc inimiciāz pietē a viā nob  
 recōciliacōis faciam⁹ ad deum ut itez efficiā  
 mur ei aābiles a cōcupiscibiles. Scio q; mira  
 ris valde hominōis pulchritudinē et decoris  
 eius nī inueniē posse in tris simile iudicas. Sz

Chrysostom, *De Reparatione Lapsi*, leaf 24 b.

New forms of h (ll. 1, 13, 23, 26); he (ll. 4, 9); ho (ll. 8, 21, 26); h' (ll. 5, 10).

can be watched as it takes place between the beginning and the end of a particular book, Joannes Chrysostomus *de reparatione lapsi*.

This is a quarto containing 40 leaves, of which the first and last are blank. Throughout the first two quires (leaves 1-16) the *h* is of the early form, except on the recto of the eleventh leaf, where both examples of the letter which occur are of the late form. They may have been put in by way of a trial: but it is impossible to say. When, however, we come to the seventeenth leaf, which is the first leaf of the third quire, we find that the old form is used on the recto and the new form on the verso; and this continues to the end of the book. There were evidently two compositors at work, one setting up the rectos and the other the versos: and the new *h* was served out to one of them, while the other continued to use the old kind. Exceptionally the old kind appears on three versos, on 19<sup>b</sup> and 25<sup>b</sup> exclusively throughout the page, on 22<sup>b</sup> in the first four lines only. I am not prepared to say that these passages were set up by the other compositor: what evidence there is tends to shew that they were not.

I must digress for a moment to explain what this evidence is. There is a compound type for *in* with the second stroke of the *n* extending below the line and ending in a point. In the first two quires (leaves 1-16) this type is used on the verso of every leaf, but on the recto of a leaf not once. In the rest of the book, on the contrary, it is found on every recto except three (leaves 17<sup>a</sup>, 18<sup>a</sup>, 20<sup>a</sup>), and not once on a verso. We may infer that the compositor who had been setting up verso pages here began to set up rectos. He uses only the old form of *h*: and this form alone occurs on the versos of leaf 19 and leaf 25. But if these pages had been set up by him, the chances seem to be about 20 to 3 that he would have used the peculiar form of *in*. Hence as it does not occur we conclude in spite of the use of the old *h*, that he did not set up these

pages ; and for the present I am unable to account for the use of that *b* in them and in the first four lines of leaf 22<sup>b</sup>.

With the new *b* on leaf 17<sup>b</sup> appears a new compound *be* to match, which as far as I can see is never used by the compositor of the rectos. Two specimens of it had already appeared with the specimens of the new *b* on leaf 11<sup>a</sup>.

There also appears a new compound type for *ben* ; and this is used by both compositors. A new form of the compendium which may be expressed by *b'* also comes on the scene, but I have only noted it twice, on the versos of leaf 24 and leaf 32.

So far we have been watching the appearance on the scene of new types. It can all be very easily exhibited in a tabular form.

But if we make a similar table of the two forms of the compound type for *bo*, the result is different. Here we find at the outset one compositor of the versos, provided with the new sort, while the other compositor continues to use the old. This goes on through the first two quires, and also through the first two leaves of the third quire ; and then the old *bo* is entirely withdrawn, and both compositors use only the new form. It may be a mere accident that this takes place precisely when the *in* first appears on a recto page : but it is possible to connect the two things ; and I venture to give an explanation that seems to fit the facts.

The compound type *in* might be in the cases of both compositors, but only one might have the habit of using it. That is to say, the use of it is a sign of the compositor. But with regard to the old and new forms of *bo* and afterwards of *b*, it is different. There is no sign of choosing : one compositor had only one sort, the other had only the other. That is to say, the use of one or the other form depended not on the compositor, but on the case.

Now the continuance of the old *bo* on the rectos of leaves 17 and 18 prevents us from thinking of a transference of work

between the cases at leaf 17. While the fact that the use of the new *b* on the versos begins on leaf 17 and continues to the end of the book makes it impossible to suggest such a transference anywhere after leaf 17. That is to say, the rectos were set up from the same case throughout the book, and the versos were set up from the same case throughout the book.

But the compositor of the compound *in*, who as far as leaf 16 was setting up versos, from leaf 19 onwards is at work on the rectos. We cannot trace him in leaves 17 and 18, for the *in* does not occur at all in them. When, having been accustomed to the new *bo*, he came to use the 'recto' case, which was only provided with the old one, he may have cared enough about the matter to complain; and this would account for the disappearance of the old form precisely at this point.

We know now where the old *bo* was finally discarded; and it was, I believe, completely<sup>1</sup> weeded out, unlike the old *b*, which continues to occur sporadically in most of the later books.

But to find where the new *bo* first appeared, we must go farther back. At the beginning of the Chrysostom, we find one compositor already provided with it. It is therefore at least possible that we may meet with it in some of the earlier books.

The group immediately preceding the Chrysostom consists of about thirteen books, including the Augustine dated 1467. I have examined all of them from this point of view, and my search has been rewarded. One of these books, and one only, agrees precisely with the first two quires of the Chrysostom. This book is the second of two separable parts of a work by Jean Gerson dealing with certain things which affect the fitness of a priest to celebrate mass. In the first part (Hain 7697) only the old *bo* occurs. In the second part (Hain 7690), as in the Chrysostom, the new form is used on the versos and the

<sup>1</sup> I see it three times in Hain \*1984, and once in Hain 2833.

old form on the rectos. Here then we seem to have found the starting-point in the reform of the *h* group of types, *h*, *he*, *ho*, and *h*<sup>o</sup>.

This second part of Gerson's work also agrees with the Chrysostom in the use (59 times) of the compound *in*, here also, as in the first two quires of that work, on the versos only. In the first part it is also confined to the versos, but instead of occurring 59 times it appears only twice. This discovery enables us to place Gerson's book last in what I may for shortness call the 1467 group of books; and that in itself is something gained.

The peculiarity which makes the Chrysostom so interesting attracted my attention twenty years ago; and in 1891 I was able to secure Cornelius Payne's copy for the University Library. But it was not till 1906 that I found another book of the same kind. Zell printed two editions of the very popular story by Aeneas Sylvius, the *De duobus amantibus*. One of these is late, and as a specimen of typography, most uninteresting. The other is a beautiful book, of which there is a copy in the Grenville Collection. I do not know why I did not see it in 1889, when I believed I had in my hands all the Zells in the British Museum. However, I became aware of my omission; and in 1906 I asked for it. I was delighted to find the same use of the old *h* (and the *in*) on the rectos and of the new *h* on the versos; and as this distinction began at the beginning of the book, it was clear that the Chrysostom was earlier, and that the *De duobus amantibus* immediately followed it, as the Gerson immediately preceded it.

Here then we have a group of three books, which form a substantial landmark. The Chrysostom is a landmark in more ways than one. I have hitherto spoken only of the types which appear in it. I must now mention another feature of it, which concerns the press work.

All the 1466 group and all the 1467 group of books have on each page four of the holes made by the pins which fixed the paper in the press and enabled the careful printer to make the two pages on two sides of a leaf cover each other exactly line for line, a matter much affecting the appearance of the book. The number four was unnecessarily large, and in about half a dozen books (one printed not later than 1469) we find it reduced to two. Eventually they disappear altogether from the visible part of the page, and are to be looked for, I believe, in the fold at the back.

The Chrysostom again shews us the change being made. In the first two quires there are four pin-holes; in the third a rather puzzling mixture of four and two; in the fourth two; in the fifth only the upper of the two.

I here take leave of this interesting book. The rest of my paper is concerned with one of the seven books which form the group immediately following it. If we wish to obtain definite indications of the development of any particular press, nothing is more helpful than to find two or more editions of the same book printed by the same printer. The more closely they resemble each other, the more instructive the comparison is likely to be, especially if the same type is used in both of them. In the case of Zell's early quartos, all are in his first type: and consequently we find two or even three editions of a work agreeing page for page. M. Madden, the acute but perverse author of the *Lettres d'un bibliographe*, who devoted special attention to the early Cologne presses, accounted for these twin editions in the following way. He assumed the existence of an *anagnostes* or reader who, to gain time, read out the copy to two compositors working simultaneously. But he does not explain by what possibility the two compositors could reach the bottom of a page at the same moment. It seems to me that his theory is precisely calculated not to account for the facts.

That there were in Zell's office two compositors (there may have been more), we have already seen there is some evidence to shew. But I have found no trace of such duplication as M. Madden suggests.

Bibliographers have not hitherto shown much intelligence in dealing with these cases of editions closely resembling each other but absolutely distinct. They copy out the first line of the first leaf and the last line of the last leaf: if there is a minute difference in either of these, they make two editions. If there is none, or at least none which appears in their note, they recognize but one edition. But of course this is mere trifling. A book reprinted from another may agree with it in the first and last line, although it is in fact a different book. On the other hand, it may be that some slight alteration made while the first (or last) page was passing through the press causes a variation in the copies; and when they are described mechanically and superficially, two editions are made out of one. Sometimes again a copy is made up from two editions, the sheets of which are interchangeable. Out of this the bibliographer manufactures an edition agreeing at the beginning with one known edition, at the end with another, but (so he infers) different from both. Instances of all these kinds may be produced from among Ulrich Zell's quarto books. But the subject does not lend itself to illustration in a lecture.

The subject from which I have digressed was the detailed comparison of editions which agree page for page, and often line for line. It is rather a tedious operation, because what is significant has to be picked out from a large array of observations which have no significance at all. The compositors [do not seem to have troubled themselves much with the meaning of the text they were setting up; indeed their knowledge of Latin seems to have been slender enough, and proper names fare especially badly. Themistodes passed uncorrected, Salanus for Salamis, Maximus for Marius, and so on, even Sapiones for



Scipiones. But they] were quite at home among the numerous contractions that were used by scribes ; and, as many words might be written in half a dozen ways or more by using or not using contractions or using alternative contractions, so the compositor allowed himself considerable freedom, sometimes following his copy exactly, sometimes taking his own line, though as a rule he made his pages and even his lines agree with those of his copy, if the type was similar. Once in the *Epistola* of Aeneas Sylvius which I am going to speak of, the compositor of the second edition in one passage loses several lines and breaks the correspondence of pages, for no perceptible reason, and then crowds in contractions to an abnormal degree in order to get his pages right again.

But although all these things increase the bundle of hay, and make the needle more difficult to find, still the needle is generally there ; and the inquirer has one obvious advantage.

In attempting to solve any problem involving several unknown quantities, it is a great thing to be able to eliminate even one of them. All our inquiries into the habits of printers are apt to be vitiated by the unascertained influence of the copy from which the type was set up. It may have been a ninth-century manuscript ; and sometimes the very form of the types brings such a manuscript before us by preserving uncommon abbreviations which no fifteenth-century type-cutter could have invented.

[Where did Zell get his comma, a plain unmistakable modern comma, which we find only in his first three books used at the ends of sentences ? And where did another Cologne printer get an equally normal semicolon, used in the same way ? Why is the termination -bus of the dative and ablative plural in some of Zell's books represented by -bs, in some by -bz, in some by -b', in some indifferently by one or other abbreviation ? Is it the preference of the compositor, or is he following copy ? I cannot at present answer any of these questions.]

It is therefore a great relief to be able, as we can with these twin editions, to examine side by side the book that served as copy and the book that was set up from it ; and to isolate, as it were, the personality of the compositor, and note his predilections, his attempts at improvement, his acquiescence in blunders, and finally his own mistakes.

The instance which I wish to put before you is not merely a case of typographical relations but rather an illustration of the vicissitudes which attend the transmission of a text.

Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius) wrote a famous letter in which he urged the Sultan to become a Christian, and pointed out how advantageous his conversion would be both to himself and to the world at large. This letter was three times printed by Zell. The first edition shews many signs of haste or carelessness. In particular on the recto of leaf 47 not only are two lines entirely lost at the bottom but another line is misplaced ; so that instead of

	animas conuertit.
quo conuertit? ad suum creatorem, ad summum bonum	
ad ultimum finem	

the text runs

	animas conuertit
ad ultimum finem	

while down below we find

	de ueteri
quo conuertit? ad suum creatorem, ad summum bonum	
et noua lege...	

where some one has ventured to put in 'de' in manuscript before 'noua lege'.

In the second edition the first passage is unchanged. The second passage no longer occupies a separate line, a good deal of compression having been found necessary to get in the two lines omitted in the first edition : which implies that a manuscript copy or a corrected copy of the first edition was available.

The passage now reads thus :

Et propterea de veteri que conuertit ad suum creatorem ad summum bonum  
et noua lege . . .

an attempt having been made to make sense by altering *quo*  
into *que* !

The third edition shews no change, although the compression has been carried still farther, both the lines left out in the first edition being crowded in at the bottom of this page, whereas in the second edition one had been carried over to the top of the next. I incline to think that the compositor of that page was setting up from a copy of the first edition and so omitted what is the top line in ed. 2 ; so that it had to be got back on to the preceding page.

I happen to possess a beautiful Italian edition of the letter, which is evidently reprinted from the second or third edition of Zell. The corrector of this edition noticed the omission of the words from the first passage, and put them in. But he did not cut them out in the second passage, where they occur as in the later Zell editions with the *quo* altered to *que*. This copy seems to have belonged to John Kendal, for whom it would possess a special interest, for his business was to rouse Christendom against the Turk. This book contains on blank pages at the end Kendal's passport given him by the Pope in 1475, the beginning of an address to the Lady Margaret, in English, and the beginning of a draft of an indulgence or some such document, 'Jo. K. prioratus anglie hospitalis sancti Johannis Iherosolymatani prior uniuersis et singulis presentes inspecturis salutem', and so on.

I have a note that a Roman edition printed by Plannck (about 1491) also follows Zell's later editions ; in fact the Treviso edition of 1475 is the only one I have seen which shews no trace of their influence.

As late as the year 1571, the corruption appears in a folio edition of the works of Aeneas Sylvius printed at Basle, more

than a hundred years after the original blunder of Zell's compositor.

Before I leave this subject, I must return for a moment to Zell's first edition, which presents another peculiarity worth mentioning and worth explaining; for it seems possible to take a wrong view of it.

In this book the text begins on the second leaf; but the first leaf, instead of being blank, contains a page from Zell's edition of Virgil's *Eclogues*. This page is the recto of the seventh leaf of the book; and it is clear that that ought to have been printed on a half-sheet which had already had one or both pages of the *second* leaf printed on it. An impression of it on a half-sheet of which the other three pages were blank was *ipso facto* waste. The printing of the *Epistola* must either have been going on at the time or have been begun very soon afterwards. The first leaf was to be a blank. It and leaf 8 would be printed on one half-sheet. Either from inadvertence or more probably to economize paper, instead of a clean half-sheet, the printer used one which on one of the pages not wanted for the *Epistola* already contained the page of *Eclogues*. And from this we may infer that the blank leaf at the beginning of a book is at any rate in some cases not so much a rudimentary title-page as an expedient for keeping the first page of the book clean, in fact a wrapper. The removal of this leaf when the book came to be bound may have been intended. But in the case we are considering there seem to be a fair number of copies in which it has been preserved. The University possesses two, one in the Library, and one in the Fitzwilliam Museum. In giving what seems to me the most probable explanation, I have rather gone into detail, because I do not find that the few people who are aware of the fact have made up their minds what the explanation is. And yet I think the only alternative may be dismissed as most improbable; namely, that the printer of the *Eclogues* picked

up by mistake a half-sheet of which two pages were already occupied by *prose*, while the book he was at work upon was *verse*; and moreover picked up the one particular half-sheet which could have an irrelevant page printed on it without becoming waste. There is no copy of the *Eclogues* in Cambridge, and consequently I am not familiar with it. But as it has two point-holes on each page, and the later form of *b*, it falls into the same small group as the *Epistola*, irrespective of any evidence supplied by the association we have been considering.

Similarly, the third edition is connected in date with one of the folio books which Zell was printing chiefly about the years 1473 and 1474. A copy in Trinity College Library has on one page a set-off from one of these books, of which, unluckily, I cannot read much, still less at present identify the book.

And this is all I have time to say about Ulrich Zell to-day. It is a curious thing that although his name has always been a name to conjure with and collectors have felt bound to have specimens of his work, the study of him has never got beyond what I may call the Dibdinesque stage. The books of other printers have been fathered on him, notably those of Conrad Winters, but also many of other Cologne printers; also books printed at Deventer, Geneva, and Rome (in roman character). On the other hand, no attempt has been made to distinguish between the best of his own work, which as we have seen is very good, and the worst, which is extremely bad. Perhaps it is this state of things which has enabled us to accumulate in the University Library the very respectable collection which now stands on the shelves. Certainly the diffusion of knowledge has its drawbacks; and the acquisition of the twenty or so that we still want seems not likely to be accomplished in our time. Of Zell's folios and of his later books in general our series is not very large; and I know too little about them to make any pretence of discussing them.

FINIS.

## SOME ASPECTS OF COPYRIGHT

FROM 1700 TO 1780

By A. S. COLLINS



THE study of copyright in the eighteenth century centres in the rights and wrongs of the claim to perpetual copyright which was finally decided in 1774. It was a claim made by the booksellers from the beginning of the century, or rather made by the inner circle of booksellers who took to themselves the title of 'the Trade', and the study of it has three aspects, as we consider its relation to the interests firstly of the other booksellers, secondly of authors, and thirdly of the public.

In examining the first aspect we find the Trade at its least admirable. Dr. Johnson for ever honoured the chief booksellers of his age when he declared that they were 'a generous set of men', having in mind their treatment of authors; but their attitude towards their poorer brethren who were not born with the golden spoon of old and valuable copyrights in their mouths was one of continuous discredit. The working fiction of perpetual rights dates from the days when property in books was secured conjointly by the effective by-laws of the Stationers' Company and the executive control of the Licensing Act. When the Act lapsed in 1695, the by-laws were already becoming ineffective, and piracy was becoming, and grew to be, a considerable danger in the early years of the next century. The trade of literature was unsettled, because the bargaining power of an author was weak where the purchaser was not sufficiently secure against intrusion on his property. So that naturally there were many pamphlets and much petitioning of Parliament to bring back security to the

interdependent trades of bookseller, printer, papermaker, and author (for Ralph in 1758 entitled his pamphlet, *The Author by Profession or Trade*).

In backing up the fruitless petitions of 1703 and 1706, and the more or less successful one of 1709, the booksellers wrote freely of their Common Law rights to perpetual ownership of copy,<sup>1</sup> making out that they needed Parliament merely to give more adequate remedies against their infringement. Perpetuity seems to have been claimed in the bill presented in 1709, but from the reports handed down of the passing of the Act it appears that the bill was drastically revised in committee, and the Act of 1710 gave only the term of twenty-one years on old books and of fourteen years on new ones with an extra fourteen if the author survived the first. And we cannot but suppose that the booksellers interested in the progress of that bill were fully acquainted with the opinions, both legal and parliamentary, on the propriety of the claim thus excluded to perpetual rights. Surely they must have known that their claim was invalidated. The fact that Lintot's written agreement with Pope for the *Iliad* specifies fourteen years and such time as is given by the Queen Anne statute, is strong evidence that they did.

Probably they ceased to bother about it when the immediate future was secured. It was a busy age for booksellers with the new works of Addison and Steele, of Pope and Swift, of Gay and Arbuthnot and Prior, and many another successful author. Not until 1731 was the question of the length of copyright again pressing, but in April of that year the period of twenty-one years 'and no longer' granted in respect of old books terminated, and the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, and others were free for any to print, unless the Act of 1710 had left unabridged a right at Common Law, if such right had ever existed. Men who knew the truth of what

<sup>1</sup> e. g. B.M. 1887. b. 58 (6).



happened in the committee stage of the bill of 1709 were still alive, but we may be sure that, whatever the real opinion of men like Tonson was on the actuality of their rights at law, they would not submit to such threatened diminution of their hoped-for gains without a sturdy resistance. Acquiescence would have reduced their property to almost trivial proportions. The battle was soon joined and in 1734 Tonson and the other proprietors of Shakespeare were keenly contesting an invasion of their time-honoured rights by Walker, who was for some years the bookseller most prominent in attacking the established order. They obtained an injunction from the Court of Chancery on the *prima facie* plea of possession, and that recourse to Chancery was their stand-by in the thirty years that followed.

Once more they approached Parliament for help. The Act of 1710 did not give penalties adequate to check piracy by importation from abroad, and did not give any protection at all against importation of pirated editions of 'books in Greek, Latin or any other foreign language printed beyond the seas', making the expensive editing of a classical text a speculation of some risk. Putting these grievances to the fore (and the loss, at any rate in the provinces, from imported books does seem to have been quite considerable) the booksellers in March 1735 presented to the House of Commons a petition which was favourably received and delegated to a committee. There the booksellers brought forward instances of books whose sale had been damaged by the underselling of Irish and Dutch copies. One deposed to a piratical Dublin edition of sermons sold at fourteen shillings below the authorized price. They proved conclusively that the question of importation was genuinely troublesome, and from these proceedings in committee it would seem at first sight that this was all for which they sought a remedy. They practically ignored the major question of perpetual copyright, although their petition followed

closely on the insistence of Tonson and others that they still owned the sole property of Shakespeare's works. The only book of importance named as having been pirated, which was not well within the terms of the statute, was Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*; that had been published in 1711, and its rights had therefore lapsed in 1725; but it is alone in being outside the strict limits. There is no word said of any piracy of works which had been published before 1710, although it is hardly doubtful that such piracy must have occurred. The whole question, in fact, of lapsed copyright seems to have been left untouched, and, a week after the petition had been presented, the committee gave its report on this evidence alone, and leave was granted to bring in a bill.<sup>1</sup>

The text of this bill of 1735 does not appear to have survived, but some light is thrown on it by a sheet entitled, *A Letter to a M.P. concerning the bill now depending in the House of Commons.*<sup>2</sup> The writer, who was no friend to the booksellers, passed by the question of imported books to treat fully that of a longer period of protection, which seems to have been the most important part of the bill although it had not been mentioned in committee. He declared that the booksellers were trying to win support by a false representation of the facts: 'many have been made to believe that the afore-said Act (i. e. of 1710) is now expired, and therefore have 'readily concurred in promoting a bill which they look on as 'only a continuance or revival of an expiring law.' They were seeking another twenty-one years' copyright on old books,<sup>3</sup> and, said the critic, if there were grounds for giving it them, there must be equal reason for granting another twenty-one when these had expired; 'so that should this bill pass, it will 'in effect be establishing a perpetual monopoly, a thing

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Committee upon the Stationers' Bill, 1735. B.M. 357. c. 2 (73).

<sup>2</sup> B.M. 816. m. 13 (152) and B.M. 357. c. 2 (74). <sup>3</sup> B.M. 816. m. 12 (52).

'deservedly odious in the eye of the law'. But whatever were the exact proposals of this bill, however much was added to the complaints preferred before the committee, it found acceptance in the Commons, where it was passed on 1 May 1735, by 163 to 111. On 6 May it was carried to the Lords, whence it never returned, being shelved by the expedient of successively postponing the second reading.

The booksellers not only omitted, but in their pamphlets at this time disavowed, the claim to perpetuity. One pamphlet<sup>1</sup> says clearly that 'the present application to Parliament is not proposed to establish a perpetual right in copies', but only 'to give a longer term'. And here the trickery of the Trade shows itself, for by June 1735 the bill was dead, and in that very month an injunction was granted by Sir J. Jekyll to restrain Walker from selling an edition of *The Whole Duty of Man*, of which Eyre claimed the sole rights in spite of the work having been first published as long ago as 1657. In November 1735 Motte was granted an injunction by Lord Talbot to restrain a collection of Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, many pieces in which had been originally published in 1701, 1702, and 1708. In January 1736 the notorious Walker was again the object of an injunction, filed this time by Walthoe, over Nelson's *Festivals*, a publication of 1703. In all three cases there could be no plea of an infringement of rights secured by the 1710 Act, and the injunctions, therefore, were based on a previous right, still sound at Common Law in the opinion of the judges. Thus the booksellers, having failed to secure an extension of their rights, and apparently afraid to claim that they had perpetual rights, seem to have found that there was prevalent a strange bias of the juridical mind in their favour, and they lost no time in setting up precedents.

But in spite of the power the booksellers found they had of obtaining injunctions, they evidently continued to feel insecure

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 816. m. 12 (51).

and to think that fresh legislation was desirable. Of the Queen Anne Act they stated in a pamphlet that, 'the time limited 'for discovery and prosecution being too short, and authors 'being afraid of the hazard and expense of a tedious lawsuit, 'during which the whole pirated impression might be sold, 'and, which, if they gained at last, they could only recover one 'penny a sheet, and if nonsuited were liable to full costs of 'suit, the remedy intended thereby proved ineffectual'.<sup>1</sup> Therefore in February 1737 we find that leave was again given by the House of Commons to bring in a bill to make the 1710 Act more effectual.

Of this bill, which, if passed, was to come into force on 24 June 1737, we have a copy. It proposed no retrospective protection of books, but that an author and his assigns shall have the copyright of his works 'during his natural life, and 'for eleven years after his death, in case such author shall live 'ten years after first publication, and if he die within ten years 'after first publication, then for twenty-one years after his 'death'. Posthumous works were to be protected for twenty-one years. The penalties against pirates were considerably stiffened, fines on imported copies were increased, and there was to be an extension of the time, within which an action must be brought, from three months to three years. In all it seems a well-constructed bill, and the bias of some of its clauses is strong in favour of author as against bookseller, particularly that in which 'no author shall have the power to 'sell or alienate, except by his last will and testament, the 'copyright for any longer than ten years', for that would have given the author more bargaining power after the ten years, and have stopped the acquisition of long terms by the booksellers for a mere trifle.<sup>2</sup> But the bill got no farther than a

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 816. m. 12 (52).

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of note that a very similar scheme was suggested as practicable by Johnson in 1774.

second reading in the House of Lords in April 1737, and was indefinitely shelved in May, to appear no more. It is difficult to surmise what the nature of the objections can have been, but probably the extended period of copyright was held to favour the 'monopoly' of the Trade at the time too much, and the prospect of this lengthened 'monopoly' (for 'monopoly' appears to have been a potent word, freely used by the enemies of the booksellers) may have influenced the peers.

The important point to notice is that there is no claim at all to perpetuity. When this bill failed, the Trade even omitted the question of copyright altogether. In petitioning Parliament they confined their requests to safeguards against importation, which (after a failure due to a contentious clause on price-limitation in 1738) they obtained in 1739. But despite these Parliamentary rebuffs the booksellers hoped to creep in behind the back of the legislature. In May 1739 another important injunction was obtained, once more against Walker, to stop the sale of *Paradise Lost*, claimed by Tonson and others. Walker presumably gave way, but Osborne, another bookseller, was in those years more audacious and would not give way. It was frequently stated in after years, and not contradicted, that the monopolizing booksellers had to buy him off with a pension 'after they had threatened, 'prosecuted and tried every other artifice, to intimidate him 'from printing Shakespeare and other works; but all to no 'purpose, he was not to be wrought upon so easily, and they 'were obliged at last to strike their flag'.<sup>1</sup> Evidently they feared to lose the power of threatening by injunctions, and so always avoided pressing for a definite decision, lest a full legal investigation should after all prove unfavourable to their Chancery actions. So long as injunctions were generally obeyed, it was best not to risk too much over an exceptional resistance.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B.M. 215. i. 4 (99).

But the outer circle of booksellers was gradually becoming restive under the restraint of the Tonsons and Rivingtons who claimed everything for themselves, and, moreover, the booksellers of Scotland were growing in number and importance. In 1743 Millar and seventeen other London booksellers brought an action against Kincaid and twenty booksellers of Edinburgh and four of Glasgow, and so began the first case of its kind in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The chief point in dispute was whether the London booksellers could claim damages in addition to the penalties under the statute and on books not registered in terms of the statute; that is, whether there did exist a Common Law right independent of that granted by Parliament. The case was long drawn out, but the Court of Session finally found in favour of the Scotch booksellers, that 'no action lies upon the statute except for such books as have been entered in Stationers' Hall in terms of the statute, and that no action for damages lies'. The London booksellers appealed to the House of Lords, and were again non-suited in a judgement given in February 1750. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke held that the London booksellers had mixed action of an inconsistent nature and mistaken the true course of their proceeding; and further, that the books in regard to which the action had been brought, were only owned by certain of the plaintiffs, and only printed by certain of the defendants, so that it was inadmissible to join them all in one action. In the circumstances, he thought that 'the libel being irrelevant, the best way for the plaintiffs to take was to begin again', when it would be material to consider the Common Law of Scotland, as apart from that of England. On the actual merits of the case he would offer no opinion. 'After hearing this opinion', wrote Donaldson in a pamphlet some years later, 'the London booksellers were advised, and were themselves satisfied that it was by no means to their interest to push for

<sup>1</sup> See B.M. 816. m. 12 (54).

'a decision, and accordingly for several years many editions of 'books to which they pretended a right, were printed without 'challenge in England and Scotland.'<sup>1</sup> As a general statement Donaldson's is accurate, but when in 1752 Walker once more took the war-path and advertised a new edition of *Paradise Lost*, with life and notes of all former editions, and Dr. Newton's notes, he was not left unprosecuted. Although nothing of this proposed edition was within the 1710 Act except Newton's notes, yet Lord Hardwicke granted Tonson an injunction against the whole; but he stipulated that the case should be brought to a trial at Common Law. Tonson, however, backed out.

But the booksellers did not give up hope. In 1758 Tonson sought an injunction against Collins of Salisbury in respect of an edition of the *Spectator*, reprinted in Scotland, and, the right being contested, the issue was taken to Court for a decision. The defendant, however, was purely nominal, and his expenses were to be paid; it was no more than a test-case got up by the inner circle of the Trade. It was heard twice in the Court of King's Bench, and it was said that the pleading on both sides was quite 'bona fide', although the probability of its being so it does not require a cynic to deny. We may doubt whether, after 1750, the booksellers were likely voluntarily to hazard an impartial, 'bona fide' trial, and we may wonder, too, how sincere Collins on his side would be, who in those years was himself laying out considerable sums in the acquisition of shares in copyright. At any rate, the collusion was discerned, and a decision refused, lest an undesirable precedent should be created.

It was in 1759 that the bullying by the Trade reached its worst. It is revealed in three letters which were published in 1764 by Donaldson,<sup>2</sup> and of which the authenticity was never contested; and it was also stated as a fact by the Attorney-

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 518. k. 4 (13).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



General in 1774. The first two letters were written in April 1759 by a London bookseller, Whiston, to one at Cambridge, a Mr. Merrill. They announce that a fund is being subscribed to finance a campaign of prosecution against all booksellers who shall sell after 1 May any books which the London booksellers claim. £3,150 had been given, and Tonson, the impartial plaintiff paying lawyers for a 'bona fide' argument, headed the list with £500. Merrill is invited to co-operate, and to tell other booksellers who are his friends, that the proprietors will buy up any piratical copies in the possession of those who will join them. Among the books mentioned as thus sacred are the works of Shakespeare, Temple, Barrow, Milton, and Waller, and such books as *Hudibras*, and the *Tatler*. Whiston also wrote that any one who refused to sign the agreement would thenceforth be excluded from all trade sales. The third letter, dated November 1759, was a circular addressed to all the booksellers of England, telling them very much what Whiston had told Merrill. The proceedings, it said, were based on the advice of lawyers; it was their desire to use only the most gentle methods, and if any one were prosecuted he must blame no one but himself. In fact it was essentially what a pamphlet printed for Donaldson described it, 'a masterpiece of low cunning, interspersed with flatteries and threats'.

But the time for such tactics had passed. From 1763 Donaldson was selling in the Strand his cheap editions of the English classics. In 1765 Lord Northington dissolved injunctions by Millar and Osborne against Donaldson in respect of Thomson's *Seasons* and Pope's *Iliad*. In 1766 the Trade was driven to the decisive case of *Millar v. Taylor* over the *Seasons*, and they obtained a judgement in their favour in 1769, although with one judge dissenting, a lack of unanimity then rare in the judgements of the Court of King's Bench. Taylor intended appealing to the House of Lords and brought a writ

of error, but 'was practised upon to discontinue it'. Still Donaldson refused to give way, and was prosecuted in 1772. He was bolder than Taylor, and his appeal to the Lords won the final decision against perpetual copyright in 1774; and, meantime, in 1773 the Court of Session, in *Hinton v. Donaldson*,<sup>1</sup> had denied that it was the Common Law of Scotland, even if it were of England. Then the monopolists cried aloud over their losses, and besought Parliament for another fourteen years' protection for old copyright, but the counter-petitions were overwhelming from the other printers and booksellers all over the country who had for years been cheated out of earning a livelihood. Lord Camden denounced the relief-bill as an affront to the House. In the opinion of Lord Bathurst the booksellers never had honestly believed in their own claim. A pamphlet<sup>2</sup> of 1774 said truly: 'Many of the booksellers 'who now petition, have been so far from conceiving that 'they had a perpetual copyright, that they had, when the 'term granted by the 8th of Anne was elapsed, republished 'their books under a Patent-Privilege for fourteen years 'longer'; and it gave examples. So much for the sincerity behind that long tale of oppression, and, needless to say, this last relief-bill was rejected.

The question of perpetual copyright never really concerned authors during the whole of that period. The booksellers, in making their claims, associated authors with them in their pamphlets and petitions, for it was convenient to make of them a stalking-horse, but, to quote an anti-bookseller pamphlet of about 1735, the fact is that 'the authors, for what 'appears, are very well satisfied with the encouragement the 'law allows them, for it is not they, but the booksellers that 'make this petition'.<sup>3</sup> And it is noteworthy that neither Pope, Thomson, nor any other gave his name in support of the

<sup>1</sup> See B.M. 6573. g. 11.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. 215. i. 4 (97).

<sup>3</sup> B.M. 357. c. 2 (74).

plea for an extension, or seems to have cared much about it. Nor did authors show much concern at any time from 1734 to 1774. Warburton published a pamphlet in 1747 in support of perpetuity, but in 1762 he cancelled it by one against it. In 1774 Beattie, Hume, and others gave letters to the booksellers with whom they were on terms of friendship, but they were only to second the appeal for an extra fourteen years on old copy. Even then Hume, at least, wrote more from friendship than conviction. 'I have writ you an ostensible letter on 'literary property,' he told Strahan, 'which contains my real 'sentiments as far as it goes. However, I shall tell you the 'truth; I do not foresee any such bad consequences as you 'mention from laying the property open.'<sup>1</sup>

Authors, indeed, show a conspicuous lack of interest in the matter. Walpole's voluminous correspondence dismisses it in a line or so. He tells Mason in March 1774, 'I know not a 'word more than I told you or you have heard of the affair of 'literary property'; and all he had told him was the bare decision and that there was a petition for relief. Johnson casually mentioned in a letter of January 1774: 'the question 'of literary property is this day before the Lords. Murphy 'drew up the Appellant's case. I have not seen it, nor heard 'the decision. I would not have the right perpetual.' Murphy, the dramatist, was quite happy in his capacity of barrister to act as counsel against perpetual copyright, and so had Boswell been in 1773 in the case of *Hinton v. Donaldson*. Mrs. Macaulay, the flashy, republican, popular historian, said that she was urged to take up her pen, because she perceived 'no abler advocate enter the lists'; writers, indeed, had nothing to say, and she herself was reduced to much foolish rhetoric over 'this mortal stab'.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the silence of writers is very marked in contrast with the vigorous pamphleteering of the booksellers.

<sup>1</sup> Hume, *Letters to Strahan*, edit. G. B. Hill.

<sup>2</sup> C. Macaulay, *Modest Plea for Copyright*, 1774.

At least up to 1774 it was usual for an author to sell his work outright to the publisher. It was not practicable for him to keep it himself, because the Trade would never help, and would often hinder, a book which was not their own property. They did not advertise it, they neglected orders, and they were indifferent to piracy. Horace Walpole found of a Strawberry Hill issue, that the booksellers, 'if I do not allow them ridiculous profits, will do nothing to promote its sale'. Lackington said that 'many books have been consigned to oblivion, through the inattention and mismanagement of publishers, as most of them are envious of the success of such works as they do not turn to their own account. (Authors) should sell their copyright, or be previously well acquainted with the character of their publisher.'<sup>1</sup>

And when a bookseller bought the copyright, what governed the price he gave? It was his judgement of the probable return he would get on the sale of a few years, and his judgement would be on the safe side for him. Very few books would he expect to outlive the possible twenty-eight years allowed by the Act of 1710, and however much he believed in perpetuity, he did not pay for it. It was said in the case of *Becket v. Donaldson* that, 'if booksellers have hitherto been dealing under the idea of a perpetual monopoly, they have not paid an adequate compensation for it, and the same phlegm will govern their future transactions'.<sup>2</sup> And, in any case, how could a bookseller pay an adequate price for perpetuity? It is absurd. Moreover, one can imagine Dr. Johnson saying, 'Sir, a man does not buy copyright for his great-grandchildren.' In fact, for ninety-nine per cent. of books

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Lackington*, 1803, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> See B.M. 515. f. 16 for reports of *Donaldson v. Becket*, and cf. Lord Kames, in *Hinton v. Donaldson*, 1773: 'There are not many books which have so long a run as fourteen years, and the success of books is so uncertain that a bookseller will give very little more for a perpetuity than for the temporary privilege bestowed by the statute.'

published, twenty-eight years are equivalent for practical purposes to perpetuity, for by the end of that time they are dying or dead. On the other hand, if the odd one per cent. were protected for ever, it would be quite impossible for any adequate remuneration to be paid. The average author was generously paid by a bookseller in the late eighteenth century, but he was only paid in proportion to the return which his publisher hoped to gather in a few years; if the book proved longer-lived, the bookseller merely rejoiced in his good fortune, perhaps giving the author an extra £100<sup>1</sup> if the sale was particularly large beyond his expectations. If booksellers had been paying for perpetuity before 1774, prices for copyright must have fallen seriously after the adverse decision. That they did not fall, but even maintained the steady rise of recent years, is conclusive proof that perpetuity had been no concern of the author.

But the claim to perpetuity did touch the public very closely. The reading public was growing considerably during this period, and it needed better and cheaper books than it could get from the Trade. It was an age of co-operative, not competitive publishing, and in the absence of competition, and with a virtual perpetual monopoly, the booksellers were not likely to serve the public as wholeheartedly as they might. They were good men of business, and they served them well enough for their pocket's sake, but the success of Donaldson, who undersold them in 1764 by prices from thirty to fifty per cent. below the rest of the Trade, showed what could be done in the public interest. Becket and his partners in the *Seasons*, prosecuting Donaldson in 1771, complained that he had sold thousands of an edition which he had printed at

<sup>1</sup> As Millar did Fielding for *Tom Jones*, and Strahan did Blair for his sermons (1776), &c. Lackington thought that 'publishers, at least many of them, would be allowed to possess more liberality than any other set of tradesmen, 'I mean so far as relates to purchasing manuscript and copyright'

Edinburgh. Thousands of the public had wanted those copies, and would not have had them but for Donaldson's invasion of the 'perpetual' rights. It was a service to the public in the way of popular education that the invaders rendered, and it was the deprivation of good, cheap literature that the public suffered under the rule of the Trade. The Trade had never gone to meet the public. Its volumes were for the libraries and tables of the well-to-do, not for the pockets and purses of the middle class which was becoming numerous and wanted cheap, handy copies of good books. The edition of the *Poets* for which Johnson wrote his *Lives* was only a reply of the 'proprietors' to the popular volumes of Bell and Martin. Indeed we have but to note the rapid succession of convenient pocket editions, with engravings, of the *Poets*, and *Dramatists*, and *Novelists*, and *Essayists*, which Bell, and Martin, and Harrison, and Cooke issued after 1774, to realize what the claim to perpetuity must have meant to the reading public.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

### ANNUAL MEETING

The thirty-third Annual Meeting of the Society was held at 20 Hanover Square on 15 March 1926 at 5 p.m., the President, Sir Frederic Kenyon, in the chair.

The minutes of the thirty-second Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet, copies of which were in the hands of members, having been taken as read, their adoption was moved by Mr. Redgrave, seconded by Mr. Gaselee, and carried unanimously.

Mr Harold Williams then moved, and Mr. Millar seconded, the election of Members of Council, namely, Dr. P. S. Allen, Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh, Dr. E. Marion Cox, The Earl of Crawford, Messrs. Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, Dr. Geoffrey Keynes, Messrs. J. P. R. Lyell and Frank Sidgwick, and Dr. Henry Thomas. This was carried unanimously.

The re-election of the Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretaries, Librarian, and Auditors was moved by Mr. J. P. R. Lyell, seconded by Mr. Frank Sidgwick, and carried unanimously.

The President then moved the election of Sir D'Arcy Power as President for the ensuing year. This was seconded by Mr. Redgrave, and carried by acclamation.

At the close of the Ordinary Meeting which followed, Sir D'Arcy Power thanked the Society for his election as President, and he having taken the chair, Mr. Redgrave moved, and Sir D'Arcy Power seconded, a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Frederic Kenyon for his services as President during the last two years. This was carried unanimously.



## REVIEWS

*English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, by ERIC G. MILLAR, F.S.A. Paris and Brussels, G. van Oest, 1926. Large 4° (14 x 10½ in.), pp. xii + 148, with 100 plates and coloured frontispiece. £5 5s.

Nobody, I suppose, now disputes that English medieval art, as revealed in its illuminated manuscripts, rivalled on the whole that of any other country. This fact has gradually emerged from the work of a generation of scholars, work that has done much to establish the provenance of many previously unassigned manuscripts. Of its results the present volume gives a wholly admirable summary, while it is at the same time no mere compilation, for there are many points on which its author speaks with personal authority. Indeed, for any one wishing to make a first, or for that matter a later, incursion into this most attractive field of study, there could be no better or more delightful way than to abandon himself to Mr. Millar's skilful guidance, and follow him as *cicerone* through the 'gorgeous gallery of gallant inventions' that forms the bulk of his sumptuous volume.

The period covered comprises the four centuries from A. D. 900 to 1300, and is divided into three sections: Anglo-Saxon times; the years from the Conquest to 1200 (that is, practically the twelfth century, for the latter half of the eleventh is almost a blank); and the thirteenth century. The Hiberno-Saxon school is excluded as not being strictly English at all. On the one hand, it was purely Celtic in origin; on the other, the destruction wrought by the Danish invasions was so great that not only have few samples of the earlier art survived, but the century of havoc prevented even a glimmer of the old tradition lingering on. We may even conjecture that such Celtic elements as are present in Anglo-Saxon illumination—

and they do undoubtedly occur—may be derived at least in part rather from sculpture and other less perishable work than from the manuscripts of the earlier school. If this is so, the policy of treating English illumination as altogether distinct from Celtic seems a sound one, and certainly we could ill spare any of the hundred plates here devoted to the former for the sake of including so essentially different a school; while any regret we may feel is compensated by the fact that Mr. Millar has already produced for the Trustees of the British Museum a handsome and exhaustive monograph on the chief surviving example of Celtic work in England. The downward date of 1300 is imposed merely by the exigence of space, and a separate volume is promised to illustrate the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This may be assured of a hearty welcome when it appears, though for my own part I do not think the subject has anything like the interest of that to which the present volume is devoted.

If the Danes destroyed all but a vestige of Hiberno-Saxon art, the Reformation so far devastated the remains of the later periods as to make the reading of the record not only extremely difficult and arduous, but, it is to be feared, permanently uncertain. What is really the position of the 'Winchester School' in respect to Anglo-Saxon illumination as a whole? That our earliest examples of the art are connected with this centre is probably no mere chance, and it seems likely that the distinctive manner first formed itself here, apparently in some measure under the influence of Rheims. But are we to regard Winchester as the centre from which the art of illumination spread over England—in which case the Winchester school is really synonymous with Anglo-Saxon work generally—or rather as a centre whence spread an influence fusing with and dominating the manners of other schools that had grown up independently elsewhere? It is suggested that a few Canterbury manuscripts, admittedly produced under the

influence of Winchester, yet retain evidence of a pre-Winchester local tradition. But are these characteristics necessarily survivals? May they not be mere local modifications, under some special and presumably foreign influence, of what was in effect a national style? Speculation on the subject is fascinating, but it is one on which only an expert is entitled to express an opinion. That Mr. Millar is not free from doubt is plain when he admits the possibility 'that we should have 'some other name for the "Winchester" school of the tenth and eleventh centuries if all the materials were still extant, 'while our view as to its origin might be entirely different 'from our present conjectures.' And this uncertainty seems to be reflected, innocently indeed, in his later classification. For in one passage he divides the products of the Winchester school into three classes: (1) the miniatures in body-colour usually on a coloured ground and with 'elaborate borders in gold and colours' (those heavy 'acanthus' borders that form the least pleasing feature of the style); (2) the outline pen-drawings with or without wash; and (3) work in which the two are combined. But when, a few pages farther, he comes to discuss the outline drawings in detail he calls them simply 'the second class of Anglo-Saxon MSS.'

I think Mr. Millar is undoubtedly correct in associating the Cottonian Troper (Plate 29) with a Pembroke Lectionary from Hereford (Plate 30). The type of the St. Luke is unmistakable: St. Anthony's satyr might have sat for it. It is to me suggestive of Byzantine work, mosaics I suppose, though I cannot define the impression.

Though unattended by any considerable destruction, the Norman Conquest had, on a much smaller scale, somewhat the same effect as the Danish invasions. Anglo-Saxon art comes to an abrupt end in 1066, and when, shortly before the close of the century, production is resumed, although some influence of the older school can be traced, the dominating character is

definitely Norman. 'The first manuscript in the new style' here illustrated (Plates 32-3), though perhaps not quite the earliest in date, is a Psalter illuminated for a nun of Shaftesbury Abbey, although it is unlikely that it was executed there. Concerning this, Mr. Millar remarks: 'I find it tempting to suggest that it may have been written to order in the scriptorium of St. Albans, but this supposition is only based on the general resemblance of script and decoration to a known 'St. Albans book', namely another Psalter now at Hildesheim (Plate 34). Of course, without a careful examination of the books themselves, or at least of extensive reproductions, it is impossible to form any opinion on such a point, but I can only say that the resemblance is not apparent to me from Mr. Millar's plates. Although the figures of the Shaftesbury miniatures are not exactly beautiful, the execution is in many respects masterly, and there are minor points of great interest. Thus, while the draperies cling in the peculiar manner of the twelfth century, there seems to be a persistence of 'Anglo-Saxon attitudes' in the Beatus, and elsewhere some of the head-dresses, or rather crowns, are to me again reminiscent of Byzantine mosaics. In the work of the St. Albans artist or artists there is none of this, at least in the pages shown. Not only are these ugly, but they are roughly and coarsely executed, suggesting to my mind the work of rather poor copyists. If true, this may be important, for the miniatures have obviously some close relation to works produced at Bury. Mr. Millar calls attention to the identity of composition in the Entry into Jerusalem with that in a copy of the Gospels at Pembroke College, Cambridge (Plate 35). We may also compare the border of the same miniature, clumsy as it is, with the consummate treatment of the same rather unattractive design in a Bury Bible at Corpus (Plate 39 *a*). This ornament is possibly commoner than I am aware (there is a suggestion of it in a Psalter from the diocese of York, Plate 60 *b*), but it is worth taking into

consideration here. A comparison of the two Entries raises some interesting points. The Bury miniature is remarkable for the highly conventionalized treatment of the foliage, which cannot have supplied the model for the more naturalistic one from St. Albans. At the same time in the latter the ass is eating the sleeve of a coat instead of, more naturally, a fallen bough, as in the former. They appear therefore to go back to a common original, probably closer to the Bury design in composition but less conventional. May it not be that the affinities of the Shaftesbury volume are really with this lost original, and that it was a Bury book?

We pass to the thirteenth century, of which Mr. Millar tells us that as we proceed 'it becomes very difficult to distinguish 'English work from that of Northern France . . . There is 'however in the main a vigour and forcefulness in purely 'English work' not found elsewhere. 'The English characteristics gradually overcame the strong influence of the 'French work . . . and by the beginning of the fourteenth century the two styles are entirely distinct.' It is a case of an energetic and vital tradition coming under the influence of a school of great technical perfection, absorbing its characteristics, and once more working itself free. Among much that is magnificent and much that is admirable in the productions of this great century, there are two groups of work that stand out as of peculiar interest in Mr. Millar's fascinating narrative: that signed by or attributed to W. de Brailes, the almost romantic discovery and recovery of which is especially connected with the names of Sir George Warner and Mr. S. C. Cockerell; and that of the St. Albans school, centring round the commanding figure of Matthew Paris, the investigation of which has been largely the work of the Provost of Eton. In connexion with the latter, I suppose it is in a manner true that the great Virgin and Child with a portrait of the artist (Plate 87) is Matthew's 'most important work'; but at the

same time I should certainly claim for the *Lives of the Offas* (Plate 88) considerably greater artistic merit. In the course of this chapter I notice that, discussing an Amesbury Psalter at All Souls and Henry of Chichester's Missal in the John Rylands Library, Mr. Millar observes that 'it is only necessary to compare . . . the figures of the Virgin and Child (Plates '83 *b*, 84 *a*) to make it a matter of certainty that the two books originated in the same atelier, if they are not actually the work of one artist.' The close relation is evident, but there is one detail that to my mind speaks strongly against a single hand. It will be noticed that in the Amesbury miniature the feet of the Virgin rest upon a lion and a dragon respectively, clearly a piece of medieval symbolism. In the other these beasts are replaced by three delightful little lions that gambol on the steps of the throne and are purely decorative.<sup>1</sup> And there are other points, both in this picture and the Crucifixion (Plates 81, 84 *b*), to suggest that in Henry's book the designs are copies, not always intelligent, of those in the Amesbury volume, or more probably some closely similar original.

The three chapters of general discussion are followed by thirty-five pages of technical description of the plates, a most valuable 'Hand-List' of the known manuscripts of the period running to 206 items with full references, and indexes. The only criticism I have to make of Mr. Millar's treatment in general is that his interest in the miniature work has perhaps led him somewhat to neglect the rest of the decoration. After reading his account, one has a clearer idea of the changes in figure drawing and painting than of the development of ornamentation as a whole. I also notice that while he is punctilious in liturgical matters, repeatedly correcting current designations, he seems less interested in the content of literary

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Millar, I see, makes the same observation in his special description of the plates, where he remarks moreover that the lion and dragon are those of Psalm xc.

manuscripts. Thus he speaks of 'a copy of Rabanus Maurus' as if it contained the voluminous works of the Archbishop of Mainz, whereas it only includes his astounding acrostics *De Laude Crucis*, while 'A Gregory at Orleans' also lacks further definition. It is clear that very great pains have been taken in correcting the proofs, and the misprints are few: at the same time Mr. Millar does not seem quite alive to the amount of supervision that a foreign press requires. For example, a compositor working in a language he does not readily understand cannot always be sure whether a full stop indicates an abbreviation or a period, and is thus sometimes led to obscure the author's meaning by erratic spacing.

The coloured frontispiece by Mr. Emery Walker is a quite admirable example of such work, and the hundred plates in monochrome by M. Faucheux of Chelles, near Paris, show how brilliant collotype can be, though this effect has certainly not been attained without some sacrifice of tone. On a first inspection I was inclined to make two criticisms: one was a regret that so many pages had been reduced in scale in order to increase the number shown, the other was a doubt whether some of the negatives had not been a trifle hard. But when I came to a closer examination, Mr. Millar's care to give whenever possible one full-size plate from each manuscript represented satisfied me on the first point, while I also discovered that it was not Mr. Macbeth's photography that was at fault. A comparison of different copies of the book reveals the fact that the printing of the plates is very uneven and often much too dark. The letterpress is what still passes for handsome printing in France, where the dissociation between commercial and artistic work seems even greater than in this country. The title-page is wholly tasteless, and I hope and believe that no English publisher with the enterprise to produce a monograph of this sort would dare to put it into such a binding.

W. W. GREG.



A. BIRKENMAJER, *Oprawa Rękopisu 2470 Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej i inne oprawy tej samej pracowni introligatorskiej*. (The Binding of MS. 2470 in the Jagello Library and the other bindings from the same bindery.) Extr. from Vol. VII of *Ex Libris*, 48 pp., 16 pl., 4to. Cracow, 1925 (Polish text: French summary).

SINCE Weale first drew attention to the existence of twelfth-century bindings with blind stamps, the number known has grown slowly; but it has not yet reached fifty, and every specimen is of importance. Dr. Birkenmajer, who is on the staff of the Jagello Library, has there discovered a new one, and makes it a reason for a fresh examination of Weale's conclusions.

Weale in his South Kensington handbook (1894, 1898) had put them all down as English; but in his posthumous book on Bookbindings in the British Museum (1922), he allowed some to be Anglo-Norman. Haseloff, *Miscellanea Ebrle*, v (1924), pp. 507-28, declares that the earlier specimens show no definite signs of English origin, and believes that the Continent had a livelier part in the development than people have been inclined up to now to assume.

Birkenmajer goes even farther than this: he will not even accept the compromise Anglo-Norman, but declares for the north of France, preferably the Isle of France.

He claims that whereas Weale cannot name any manuscript definitely connected with England and dated before the Winchester Domesday Book of 1148 (S. Kens. Rubb. 11, 12), the two Montpellier MSS. 155, 231, must have belonged to Henry, son of Louis VI, before 1137, the date of Louis's death, as he is in them called *Filius Regis* (S. Kens. Rubb. 8, 9; 6, 7). It is perhaps not quite certain that *Filius Regis* becomes *Frater Regis* on the accession of his brother. Birkenmajer then establishes that two more MSS., B.M. Add. 35167 (B.M. binding 1) and his Cracow 2470 (which came to Cracow from Strasbourg), agree in technique and stamps with Montp. 155, whereas Montp. 231 is the work of another binder whose

stamps are closely analogous but not identical with those on the first three: he suggests that we have master and pupil. He emphasizes the French character of the texts contained in these manuscripts, glosses of Anselm of Laon on Matthew, Luke, and Mark, and the letters of Ivo of Chartres, holding that these could not have got to England and back again into the possession of a French prince-bishop in the short time between their composition and 1137. To a third binder, working about 1140-50, he assigns the two manuscripts treated of by Haseloff (l.c.), Halberstadt, Domgymnasium 48, and Prag, Capit. 47, showing that the stamp of a bear which Haseloff thought to occur both upon the former and upon B.M. Add. 35167 (Weale's *ram*, B.M., Pl. 1, 4; a similar stamp on the Winton Domesday really is a ram) is only analogous, not identical; just as Haseloff had recognized that B.M. Add. 24076, like as it is to 35167, offers no identical stamps.

Birkenmajer accordingly supposes the history to be that the craft arose in northern France somewhere round 1115-30; that the original binder had a pupil who copied his stamps very soon, and that the works of further copyists penetrated both eastwards to Germany, Prag, and Vienna, and northwards to find imitators first at Winchester and later at Durham. Mr. S. C. Cockerell thinks that Pembroke, Cambridge, MS. 147, looks like a Canterbury book of the last part of the century. Stamps and scheme are just like Weale, S. Kens. Rubb. 20, 21, Mazarine Library, but none are absolutely identical at Durham or in the British Museum, and Canterbury would be likely to adopt the Continental art independently. So Thoinan's dictum *la reliure est un art tout français* is finding further justification.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

PS.—Birkenmajer now reports a manuscript in the Chapter Library of Plock with stamps identical with those on the Pembroke MS.; the writing seems English. For new examples of the class see Th. Gottlieb, *Belvedere*, 1926 (43), pp. 15-23.

CLAUDE DALBANNE, *Livres à gravures imprimés à Lyon au quinzième siècle*. III. *Ponthus et la belle Sidoine*. Association Guillaume Le Roy, Lyon, 1926. pp. 59. 11½ × 9¼ in.

MAURICE HÉLIN, *La clef des songes : facsimilés, notes et liste des éditions incunables*. E. Droz, E. Nourry, Paris, 1925. pp. 100. 9½ × 7½ in.

HAVING already dealt with rarities like the *Légende dorée* of 1483 and 1484 and *L'Abuzé en court* of about the same date, the Association Guillaume Le Roy devotes the third volume of its excellent series to one of the best known romances, *Ponthus et la belle Sidoine*, as illustrated in an edition printed by Le Roy about 1483 (Copinger 4818) and in another by Gaspard Ortuin issued five or six years later (Proctor †8535). The cuts, sixty-one in number, are common to both editions, and have the same primitive attraction as those of the *Légende dorée*, which they much resemble in style. Ten early editions of the French text are known, but survive apparently in less than fifteen copies altogether. An English version was printed by De Worde in 1511. A synopsis of the poem and careful bibliographical notes are supplied by Mlle E. Droz.

The second volume under review reproduces in facsimile the whole or characteristic parts of no fewer than ten editions, Latin, French, German, and Italian, of the medieval dream-book generally known as the *Somnia Danielis*. Mlle Droz in her bibliography enumerates 36 fifteenth-century editions of this curious tract, many of them recorded in only one copy, and doubtless these are but a fraction of the total number of editions actually printed. The very interesting introduction by M. Hélin sketches the history of a piece of popular lore that goes back to immemorial antiquity in its origins and has contrived to survive in obscure quarters down to the present day.

V. SCHOLDERER.

*The Beginning of the New Testament translated by William Tyndale 1525. Facsimile of the unique Fragment of the uncompleted Cologne Edition. With an Introduction by Alfred W. Pollard. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926.*

ALL students of the history of the English Bible will be grateful to our Secretary and the Oxford University Press for bringing out this beautiful book. Some may regret that preference was not given to the first complete New Testament printed at Worms, of which no adequate facsimile exists, but doubtless there were sufficient reasons for not choosing it for reproduction.<sup>1</sup> Of the Cologne Fragment, Professor E. Arber published an excellent facsimile in 1871, and I am sorry that Mr. Pollard has not mentioned this earlier reprint, for considering its date it was surely a praiseworthy achievement. The text was faithfully reproduced by photo-lithography, though a certain amount of touching-up was necessary in order to mend broken letters and to make faded lines appear black and sharp. In his Preface of seventy pages the editor, to quote the testimony of Bishop Westcott, 'printed at length with great exactness and illustrated by careful notes the original records bearing upon the early life and work of Tindale.' But it was well worth while, in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the appearance of the first printed New Testament in English, to publish a fresh facsimile of the Cologne Fragment, produced by the latest methods of photography and enriched by an Introduction from the pen of such an authority as Mr. Pollard, whose

<sup>1</sup> In connexion with the discussion of 'Facsimile' Reprints of Old Books in the last number of *The Library*, it is worth while recalling Mr. Francis Fry's courageous attempt in 1862 to provide a facsimile of the Worms Testament. According to his own description, the facsimile was made 'by tracing on transfer paper, placing this on lithographic-stones, and then printing it in the usual way'. He compared a proof of every page, line by line, with the Bristol copy, and had the book printed on hand-made paper 'expressly manufactured to imitate the colour and appearance of the original'. It is not surprising that even an ordinary copy of the facsimile prepared in this laborious and expensive way cost £8.

handbook *Records of the English Bible* has made us all his debtors. Dr. W. Aldis Wright once said that a kind of fatality attends those who write about the history of the English Bible, and in no study is it more necessary to verify references and look up the original documents. But with Mr. Pollard's *Records* and Bishop Westcott's *History* (revised by Dr. Wright) as guides, no student is likely to stray from the right path.

In his Introduction Mr. Pollard gives a concise and admirably clear account of Tindale's life and work. Where interesting topics abound it is difficult to decide which to select for comment. The first point I notice is a minor one, which many readers will consider of little importance: Mr. Pollard adheres to the old spelling of the name—Tyndale. Now much may be said in favour of not altering an established usage, but Mr. Henry Bradshaw in a paper on Godfried van der Haghen, contributed to No. I of *The Bibliographer* (1881) and reprinted in his *Collected Papers* (1889), advanced cogent reasons for reverting to what he considered to be Tindale's own habitual mode of writing his own name, and expressed the hope that others would follow his example. Many have adopted his view, but some still retain the old form of the name.

On p. ix Mr. Pollard warns us that it has by no means been proved that Peter Quentell was the actual printer of the Cologne Fragment. (In his *Records* he cautiously says that the translator's copy was 'handed to a Cologne printer, probably connected in some way with the important printing house of Peter Quentell'.) Certainly Quentell was placed in an awkward position if at the same moment he was printing for Tindale and for Tindale's persecutor Dobneck. But if Quentell had no connexion with Tindale's work, and joined Dobneck in his search, the fact that he afterwards employed the type, initial letters, and woodcut of St. Matthew, used in the Fragment, can be explained, as Mr. Pollard suggests, by

the supposition that they were confiscated and so passed into his possession. Will not some member of the Bibliographical Society, familiar with books printed at Cologne in and just before 1525, attempt to solve the problem?

To the question whether the quarto Testament begun at Cologne was finished at Worms, no positive answer now seems possible. Some, like Professor Arber, are convinced by the scanty evidence available that the work was completed in this form. Mr. Pollard believes that it was carried to the end of St. Mark. This, if true, would explain the contemporary allusions to an annotated edition of St. Matthew and St. Mark circulated at an early date. If some time elapsed between Dobneck's discovery of the secret printing, when it had reached sheet K (i.e. near the end of St. Matthew), and the stoppage of the work, further sheets must have been printed off or set up before Tindale and his companion took alarm; and it is quite possible that they carried with them in their flight sufficient material to complete the second Gospel at Worms.

In spite of the explicit statements of Sir Thomas More, Dobneck, and John Foxe, many modern writers refuse to believe that Tindale, between his arrival at Hamburg and his removal to Cologne, had any dealings with Luther at Wittenberg. But whatever may be our opinions on this matter, which is fully debated by the Rev. R. Demaus in his standard biography of Tindale (revised by the Rev. R. Lovett), there can be no question about the influence exerted by Luther's German Testament on Tindale's Cologne edition. Any one who places the two books side by side is forced to admit that the latter is modelled on the former. Not only are a considerable portion of the preface and the majority of the glosses translated directly from Luther's Testament. The list of books (with its curious placing of four books—Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation—in a group by themselves) and

practically the whole body of marginal references (including misprints) are also taken from the same source. Even Luther's arrangement of the printed page, with its headings, paragraphs, &c., has been closely copied. An exhaustive comparison of the two books was made a few years ago by Dr. L. Franklin Gruber, of St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A., who in 1917 published his results in a pamphlet entitled *The Truth about the so-called 'Luther's Testament in English', Tyndale's New Testament*. Dr. Gruber himself possesses a wonderful collection of volumes connected with the German Reformation, including a set of the earliest editions of Luther's Bible-translation, which he described, under the title *The Wittenberg Originals of the Luther Bible*, in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, 1918. He believes that Tindale used both the first and the second Luther Testaments issued in 1522, and also another folio edition, which he calls the third, printed in 1524. He mentions the interesting fact that his own copy of the rare edition of 1524 has in the outer margins of the general *Vorrhede* 'contemporary manuscript notes (probably by Luther) which 'are found in translation in the outer margins of Tyndale's 'Cologne Fragment', and states his belief that 'this is probably the very copy of Luther's third edition that Tyndale 'used'.

When we come to consider the influence of Luther's version on Tindale's translation, we are on more debatable ground. Some may think that Dr. Gruber is inclined to exaggerate its extent, and will prefer Bishop Westcott's more moderate estimate. Few will agree with his contention that Tindale 'used' the Wyclifite version, or that it influenced his English 'far more than writers on this subject have generally recognized or acknowledged'. Tindale's own words, 'I had no 'man to counterfet, nether was holpe with Englysshe of eny 'that had interpreted the same', must, as Mr. Pollard points



out, be taken as a definite statement that he made no use of the Wyclifite translation. Echoes of the earlier version in Tindale's work are due apparently to the force of the Latin Vulgate, or possibly to the fact that certain of the Wyclifite phrases had passed into current speech.

Tindale's English is his own and fully merits the praises which have been lavished upon it. As Mr. Pollard justly remarks, he 'set a model for the translation of the Bible into English which (even in the Jesuit version) was respectfully followed by his successors, so that the "Authorized Version" of 1611, which still holds its place in the affection of English-speaking Christians, alike in language, rhythm, and cadence, 'is fully ninety per cent. his.' To enable the influence of Tindale's translation to be traced through the successive versions down to that of 1611, Mr. Pollard prints, as an Appendix, Chapter V of St. Matthew in six versions: Tindale's own revised text of 1535, the Great Bible of 1539, the Geneva Bible of 1560, the Bishops' Bible as revised in 1572, the Jesuit version issued at Rheims in 1582, and the Authorized Version of 1611. By the use of roman and italic types and certain marks in the texts he shows clearly the truth of the above statement.

It would have been interesting if Mr. Pollard could have found space to retell (perhaps with corrections or additions) the story of the discovery of the Cologne Fragment, and explain how it eventually found a permanent home in the British Museum Library; and could have added some account of the book in its present condition, describing its dimensions, paper, binding, &c. It is twenty-five years since I had the privilege of handling the precious volume, and I have not now the opportunity of comparing this facsimile with the original. But it seems to have been executed with the skill and finish that one always associates with the work of the Oxford University Press. The book is beautifully printed in very black ink

on fine, white, linen-rag paper. Altogether it is a covetable possession, and forms a worthy memento of a notable Commemoration.

H. F. MOULE.

*Francis Jenkinson: A memoir.* By H. F. STEWART. Cambridge University Press, 1926, 152 ff., illustrated. 10s. 6d. net.

It is too often our custom at the Universities to defer, in the hope of attaining completion and perfection, the biographies of our great men until the last of those who knew and cared for them have also passed away: and it is therefore with the greater satisfaction that I welcome the prompt appearance of Dr. Stewart's admirable memoir of our late Librarian. Its size seems to me exactly suited to its subject: his was not a life of stirring adventures or great external happenings, and these 150 pages chronicle in just sufficient detail the work of a scholar who, though he published little himself, did great work in his inspiration of others.

I have already given in the pages of *The Library* (Fourth Series, Vol. IV, No. 3, December 1923, pp. 161-4) some account of his position as a link in the chain between Bradshaw and Proctor. His last piece of work on incunabula has since been published by the Bibliographical Society, George Dunn's incunabula arranged in 'Proctor order',<sup>1</sup> and his 'Sandars' lecture on Ulrich Zell's earliest quartos is printed in this number of *The Library*: it is briefly described on pp. 67-8 of this book, and is an important contribution to the *minutiae* of bibliography. It is characteristic of the man that he never fulfilled the provision of the Sandars bequest, that the deliverer of the

<sup>1</sup> I may here note a curious omission from this list. These were five Brussels books in the Dunn sales which Jenkinson somehow failed to include: lot 3845 contained seven Brussels tracts, but he only recorded two of them (1320 and 1321). I may add that nos. 365, 367, 370, 473, 474, 475, 1008, 1019, should have against them the initials [C. T.-S.], and that all books throughout the list so marked are now in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California.

lecture or lectures must, before receiving the modest fee which is his reward, deliver a written, typed, or printed copy of each lecture to the Cambridge University Library and the British Museum. He was dissatisfied with it as given—wanted to work a little more at it, ‘touch it up’—but never completed the task, so that the Sandars fund is still the richer by Jenkinson’s salary as reader for 1908!

Dr. Stewart gives a very complete and attractive picture of the man—at school at Marlborough and then a don at Cambridge for the rest of his life. I have no contact, I fear, with the musical or entomological worlds, and must therefore be content to speak of Jenkinson as a bibliographer and a scholar. Of the incunabulist I have already spoken, here and elsewhere: but I feel that I must, at risk of repetition, emphasize his extraordinary knowledge of the types of books printed in the Low Countries and Cologne, as also Lübeck, in the fifteenth century. It was a taste he had inherited from Bradshaw, and he was accordingly more keen on the ‘natural history’ method with these books than with any others: for that reason he never really liked Dr. Voulliéme’s important volume on Cologne printing, because the books are arranged alphabetically instead of by presses and chronologically: that is a matter for argument, but it would certainly have been a better book if the author had sent the proofs to Jenkinson, who was not only the unrivalled expert on the subject, but at his best in helping other people’s work—much better than at getting out his own!

I do not propose to say more about his work on incunabula, and for the delineation of his character, a very tender and transparently honest disposition, I must refer the reader to the book, because here Dr. Stewart has been particularly successful. I desire, however, to make a few remarks on the somewhat obscure and remote subject of his one published work (other than Bradshaw’s *Collected Papers*).

On the last night of Bradshaw’s life—he was at dinner with

J. W. Clark, afterwards the Registry of the University—Henry Jackson asked him about his work on the *Hisperica Famina*. He said that he had done nothing at it since the May term. 'How long would it take you to get it out of hand?' 'Perhaps a fortnight.' 'Then why not stop all other work and clear it off?' 'Because there are so many other things to do.'

This was on 10 February 1886, and Jenkinson's edition did not appear until 1908. Bradshaw's first conclusions (1877, revised 1882) may be seen on pp. 468 sqq. of his *Collected Papers*. 'There still remains', said Jenkinson, their editor, 'a fragment (amounting to 60 folio pages of MS.) of his more detailed 'work upon the same subject, begun in April 1885, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be printed.' But work was being done elsewhere, by Stowasser (Vienna, 1887) and Zimmer (Göttingen, 1895), and Jenkinson was never a man to be hurried: his edition, when it did appear, was perfect textually, and it is sad, as Dr. Stewart points out, that he did not add a translation or explanatory notes, for there is nobody else competent to perform this difficult task, which may be judged by the specimen given by Dr. Stewart on p. 93.

What are these 'Western utterances'? They come from a Celtic *milieu* in the latter half of the sixth century: from Ireland, said Bradshaw and Jenkinson, from somewhere in the south-west of Britain, say most Continental scholars. They form a poem, which we have received in more than one tradition, combining the description of a day in a country school or monastery, praise of the writer's own Latin and criticism of that of others, and descriptions of various natural objects: the whole written in lines with an internal rhyme or assonance, divided into two portions by the rhyme or assonance, and the portions, often of unequal length, from the simple

quos : edocetis fastos ?

to the complex

belbicanas multiformi genimine harenosum : evolvit effigies ad portum.

But the chief interest is in the writer's Latinity (for which I would again refer to Dr. Stewart's specimen) and the extraordinary twists and twirls by which rare words are made to describe common objects, and its relations with the style of Gildas and Aldhelm, in whom there are Hisperic traces, though they avoid the extremes of the author of the *Famina*. Jenkinson would sometimes speak of the parallels and connexions with the Latinity of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, who was perhaps surrounded by people talking a Gallic rather than a Celtic tongue, and will be remembered by his description of the manner in which the grammarians Galbungus and Terentius wrangled for fourteen days and fourteen nights on the vocative of *ego*: and I recollect that he was delighted when I called his attention to the fact that Virgilius and the author of the *Famina* had predecessors in Greek, the Οὐλπιάνειοι σοφισταί described by Athenaeus (III. 54); Dionysius the Sicilian who called a virgin μένανδρος, ὅτι μένει τὸν ἄνδρα, and mouse-holes μυστήρια, ὅτι τοὺς μῦς τηρεῖ; and Alexarchus, the founder of Uranopolis, brother of King Cassander of Macedon, who called a cock ὀρθροβάας, a barber βροτοκέρτης, and a bushel of corn ἡμεροτροφίς, because it will feed a man for a day. I am not sorry that Jenkinson spent so long a time on these divagations of the human brain; and the *Hisperica Famina* have a real connexion with Celtic studies and the elucidation of glossaries, a branch of classical learning which has of recent years been pursued with much advantage.

I am glad that Dr. Stewart devotes some pages to a description of Jenkinson's work on the War collection. I think he saw, rather earlier than other librarians, that literature would be one of the fields of warfare ('propaganda'), and that for the sake of the future historian it would be necessary to start at once accumulating ephemeral publications which would otherwise disappear and leave no trace. I was able to be of some assistance to him by reason of my position at the Foreign

Office, and his delight when I obtained propaganda curiosities from far-off countries was a pleasure to witness. I put him in touch with Mr. Charles Stewart Davison, a member of my College and a distinguished New York lawyer, and Mr. Davison sent him a good deal of useful material: and I cannot refrain from quoting a letter which mentions both the benefactors to whom Dr. Stewart refers in the foot-note to p. 79.

Ocklye, Crowborough, Sussex.  
1915 September 11.

MY DEAR GASELEE,

I have written to Davison. The parcel arrived safely at the Library. Things from Spain are not *all* coming: perhaps postal accidents, as I thought I had squared the Censor. I have written to the Secretary, G.P.O., in view of a newspaper statement that officials at the various post offices were instructed to stop the *Fatherland* and such things, and asking for wrappers in which they were received, that they might recognize others. It seems fussy, but one has to keep very wide awake to escape vexatious and irremediable interferences. Señor Carbonell is splendid, and I want to send him some things in return.

Switzerland, among other scenes of German activity, remains a blank, except for the Genevan *Novellist* (or whatever it is). This conspiracy just detected must have produced much literature.

Emeritus Archdeacon Bothamley (to whom I wrote about a little Horace he *lent* to U. L. about 20 years ago) has sent me £25 to be at my absolute disposal—so I have made it the nucleus of a fund for the next Dunn sale.

I want to catch the post—so will write no more. We hope to be home on Thursday the 16th.

Yours very sincerely,  
F. JENKINSON.

The result of his efforts was a collection of war literature which, while it cannot be compared in size with that in the Library of the Imperial War Museum, contains much matter that cannot be found elsewhere in England, and now quite unobtainable: Dr. Stewart's second appendix contains a methodical account of it. He was naturally greatly interested in our own propaganda efforts, with which I kept him supplied: he took especial pleasure, I remember, in little volumes of Raemakers' cartoons, with text in Catalan and Basque, in

a translation into Javanese of the anti-Moslem document found at Moshi, and in an illustrated journal which we brought out with text in various Eastern languages, under the various titles of Al-Hakikat, Cheng Pao, Senji Gaho, Warta Yang Tulus, Mir v Kartinakh, and some Indian names which I have now forgotten.

Those of my readers who have already purchased copies of the book may be glad to have an errata slip on which Dr. Stewart has noted a few trifling mistakes: and he allows me to say that he will be pleased to send one to anybody who will write to him:—The Rev. H. F. Stewart, D.D., Girton Gate, Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.

I will add one further correction: the title of Drummond's book which Jenkinson cordially disliked is not (p. 124) *The Natural Law and the Spiritual Life*, but *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*.

A special word of commendation is due to the illustrations. They are portraits of Jenkinson in characteristic pose and surroundings at different times of his life, and three facsimiles show the development of his handwriting, always beautiful, first under Bradshaw's influence and then to a perfectly individual script of his own.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

*Bibliographical Essays: a tribute to Wilberforce Eames.* Harvard University Press. 1924. pp. xix + 440.

THESE essays written in honour of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, Lenox Librarian in the New York Public Library, are of exceptional interest and importance both in themselves and for the light they throw on a department of bibliographical research in the United States of which most English students know very little. According to the (cruelly named) 'bio-bibliographical narrative' by his colleague Mr. Victor Paltsits, Wilberforce Eames was born at Newark, N.J., 12 October 1855; while a boy-clerk in the East New York post office he



bought for \$35 (paid in instalments) an eighteenth-century *Universal History* in 65 volumes; at eighteen he transferred himself to a book-store and a little later bought Field's *Indian Bibliography*; at five-and-twenty he made the acquaintance of J. C. Pilling and was soon helping him with his *Proof-sheets of a bibliography of the languages of the North American Indians*. With these tastes as his credentials, by the time he was thirty Mr. Eames had gained a footing in the Lenox Library; by thirty-three he was on the permanent staff, and on 2 June 1893 was elected Librarian, to pass ultimately with the Lenox collection to the New York Public Library. Before 1893 he had edited six volumes of Sabin's *Dictionary of books relating to America*, and most of his subsequent studies have been on American subjects. It is thus entirely appropriate that most of the thirty papers here printed in his honour should be concerned with what may be called the home-field of American bibliography, though two of them start before the American dawn, Miss Stillwell offering to the purchaser of the 65-volume *Universal History* an excellent study of the first ten editions of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, and Mr. Alexander Marx to the editor of a facsimile of the *Bay Psalm-book* (Cambridge, Mass., 1640), in which there are a few Hebrew letters cut in wood, a dissertation on *The use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew books, 1475-1520*. Because it links up with this latter date I will not quarrel, as I should otherwise, with Dr. G. W. Cole's inclusion of the Antwerp chap-book *Of the New Landes* (c. 1520) among the 'Elizabethan' Americana in the Huntington Library, with which the cultivation of the home-field begins. Only eight of the tracts, starting with *A true declaration of the troublesome voyage of M. Iohn Haukins to the parties of Guynea and the West Indies*, printed in 1569, are really Elizabethan; the other thirteen were published during the years 1610-38, but, if we leave out the *New Lands*, they all have a certain unity, as well as great individual interest, and are

described by Dr. Cole *con amore*. For the long period covered by his paper there are naturally other attractions. Mr. H. R. Wagner of Berkeley, California, gives in tabular form a census of *Sixteenth Century Mexican Imprints* locating the extant copies of some two hundred books known to have been printed in Mexico from 1540 to 1600 among forty European and American libraries, the British Museum coming out top in the earliest books with seventeen of the first twenty-seven still extant, but being soon easily outdistanced by the specialist libraries to which the task of collecting Americana more intimately belongs. Ten years before this study of early Mexican printing closes came the first of the Debry books, and on 'the Debry Collectors painefull peregrinations along the pleasant pathway to perfection' Mr. H. N. Stevens writes with a wealth of knowledge, much of it hereditary, urging the acquisition not merely of 'a straight set in single editions' of the fifty-seven parts of the Debry collection as published from 1590 to 1644 (several collectors have done as much as this), but also of the thirty-five or forty additional parts needed to make up a set of all editions.

By 1630 in our chronological survey we reach New England with a bibliography by Mr. Julius Tuttle of some seventy-seven editions and issues of the writings of the Rev. John Cotton, Vicar of St. Botolph's in Boston (Lincoln), who reached Boston (Mass.) in that year and continued there as Teacher of the First Church until his death in 1652. Next comes a paper by Mr. L. C. Harper on 'A Maryland Tract of 1646' entitled *A moderate and safe expedient to remove jealousies and feares of any danger or prejudice to this state by the Roman Catholickes of this kingdom*. The tract, which Mr. Harper guesses to have been of Jesuit origin, was probably printed in London, and the expedient it suggests (a remarkable one for the time) is that English Roman Catholics should be allowed to sell their estates and emigrate to Maryland. Ten years

later than this begin the entries in the first record book (1656-86) of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel which Mr. Winship helped dramatically to restore to light some years ago, and from which he now gives extracts showing the cost of print, paper, covers, and stitching for some of the early Eliot tracts. From this point onwards the indigenous interest has it all its own way. Mr. W. C. Ford shows that the *New England Primer* (Dr. Eames is especially interested in primers) issued by Benj. Harris at Boston between 1687 and 1690 bears little resemblance to *The Protestant Tutor* which Harris had published at London during the Popish Plot. Mr. T. J. Holmes displays the malice of Robert Calef in printing (1700) as *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, Cotton Mather's account, written strictly for private circulation, of the 'witchcraft' case of Margaret Rule. Mr. L. C. Karpinski writes on 'Colonial American Arithmetics' and traces the source of the earliest example recorded in English, W. Bradford's *Young Man's Companion* (New York, 1705), to two London-printed text-books, Mather's *A very useful manual* (1681) and Leybourn's *Arithmetick*, 1657. Next Professor Kittredge traces the history of *The Ballad of Lovewell's Fight* which he identifies with 'The Volunteers March; being a full and true account of the bloody fight which happen'd between 'Capt. Lovewell's Company and the Indians at Pigwocket', advertised in the *New England Courant* of 31 May 1725 as 'just published and sold by J. Franklin' and probably written by James Franklin himself in the previous week immediately after details of the fight appeared in the *Courant* of the 24th.

For 1732-44 we have a paper by Mr. V. W. Crane on 'The Promotion Literature of Georgia', in which he notes how assiduously the Trustees of the new colony acted on the resolution adopted at their first meeting as a Common Council:

That Measures be taken to prevent the Publishing in the News Papers any thing relating to this Society that shall be disadvantageous to their Designs; And

that Mr. Oglethorpe be desired to take the said measures & to cause such Paragraphs to be Published in the said News Papers as may be proper for the promoting of the said Designs.

The propaganda actually adopted went far beyond newspaper paragraphs, and Mr. Crane's remark that 'a modern press agent would have little, perhaps, to teach those Parliamentarians and clergymen of two centuries ago' seems justified.

For 1735-63 we have an account by H. M. Chapin of 'Ann Franklin of Newport printer', Ann being the wife of James Franklin, author of the Lovewell ballad aforementioned, who having helped her husband in his printing business for some years after his removal from Boston to Newport, carried it on with the aid of her two daughters from his death in 1735 till her own in 1763, when the obituary in her newspaper the *Newport Mercury* recorded that 'by her Oeconomy and Industry she supported herself and her Family, and brought up her Children in a genteel manner; all of whom she buried sometime before her death'. While Mrs. Franklin was thus engaged the *Royal Primers* produced in London by John Newbery (advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 November 1750) began to be printed in Philadelphia (1753) as *The Royal Primer Improved*, Boston editions being printed with the original title as late as 1796. The year after the widow's death *Hartford's First Printer* (Thomas Green) started work, and before he removed to New Haven in 1768 had produced some half hundred editions and issues still traceable, and now chronicled by Mr. A. C. Buter.

Up to this time all American printers had obtained their types from England; our American Hon. Secretary, Mr. Lawrence Wroth, devotes his paper in honour of Mr. Eames to *The first work with American types*, and shows that the first font of types cast in English America was a small one produced experimentally as early as 1 April 1769 by Abel Buell, a silversmith of Killingworth, Conn. The first American-

made types used commercially were a German fount cast with the aid of Justus Fox by Christopher Sower, jr., of Germantown, who printed from them in the first instance no. xii of his *Geistliches Magazin* at the turn of the year 1771-2, with the colophon, 'Gedruckt mit der ersten Schrift die jemals in America gegossen worden'. Justus Fox continued to work for Sower and was joined in 1772-4 by Jacob Bey, a Swiss silk-weaver who in 1774 set up on his own as a type-founder. 'Non-importation' from England being the order of the day, the Pennsylvania Convention in January 1775 recommended American printers to use Germantown type, and in the following April the first number of the *Pennsylvania Mercury* appeared with a notice which begins: 'The Printers beg leave to acquaint their Subscribers and the Public that the types with which this Paper is printed are of American manufacture', and proceeds to express the hope that 'the rustic manufactures of America will prove more grateful to the patriot eye than the more finished productions of Europe.'

Our next paper, *Books on Architecture printed in America, 1775-1830*, by A. J. Wale, carries us on without a break from the year of the first *Pennsylvania Mercury*. For the fifty-five years covered by these architectural books there are also seven other papers with intermediate dates: (1) A 'Note', by J. B. Wilbur, on the laws of the Republic of Vermont, from 1779 till 1791, when it linked up with the thirteen United States; (2) a very interesting description by H. W. Kent of the activities, as bookseller and printer, of a French refugee, Moreau de Saint Méry, at Philadelphia, 1795-7; (3) an account by C. L. Nichols of 'The Literary Fair in the United States', started on the Frankfort and Leipsiz models in 1802 and continued till 1806 with dwindling success; (4) a paper by Oscar Wegelin on 'Mills Day's Proposed Hebrew Bible', of which a prospectus with some good Hebrew type in it was issued at New Haven in 1810; (5) the identification by Señor

Jose Toribio Medina of the authors of two anonymous English books of American interest, *The Vale of Guasco, or the maid with seven lovers* (J. J. Stockdale, 1813), assigned to the Rev. Henry Boyd (best known from his translation of the *Divina Commedia*), and *Campaigns and Cruises in Venezuela and New Granada, 1817-30*, 3 vols. (Lond. 1831), assigned to R. L. Vowell; (6) an account by H. G. Rugg of the work of Isaac Eddy, printer-engraver at Weatherfield, Vermont, with a list of his publications, 1814-16; and lastly (7) an amusing description by Miss Ruth Granniss of the part played by the New York Printers in the celebration of the French Revolution of 1830, in honour of which they organized a great procession.

After 1830, gaps in the years covered become frequent. For 1832 we have an application by Mr. C. B. Clapp of 'Analytical Methods in Bibliography' to the reports of a speech made by Daniel Webster, with a resultant proof that an unexpectedly large demand and Webster's habit of dropping into the printing office produced not only two closely similar editions, but two variants of each, the uncorrected and corrected sheets being subsequently stitched together at haphazard, as in the first editions of *King Lear* and *Robinson Crusoe*. With a leap of sixteen years we come to 'The First California Laws printed in English', the late Mr. C. M. Cate of the Huntington library, quoting a manuscript note on its possibly unique copy of those drawn up by Colonel Mason in 1848, which states that they were 'not published, in consequence of the news of peace between U.S. and Mexico', Mason being a military governor with 'every right to suppose' that his task would be taken over by a civil administration. With another gap of seven years we come to a paper by Mr. Randolph G. Adams on 'A translation of the Rosetta Stone made in 1855' by three undergraduates of the University of Pennsylvania, to which a cast of the stone had been presented. Yet another leap and we are reading a note by Mr. C. S. Brigham

on the 'Wall-Paper Newspapers of the Civil War', shortage of ordinary printing paper in 1863-4 having driven some dozen newspapers to print issues of special importance (e. g. the Vicksburg *Daily Citizen* of 4 July 1863) on wall-paper.

This ends our chronology, but we have still to mention a note on 'Aids to the Identification of American Imprints' by Miss Alice H. Lerch, of the New York Public Library, which after an interesting preface on the rise of enthusiasm for local Americana, describes the use made by Mr. Eames and others of the photostat in comparing early specimens of American typography, and the Imprint Catalogues of the Library of Congress as planned by Mr. Charles Martel, and that of the Reserve Room at the New York Public Library begun under the direction of Mr. Eames at the Lenox Library before 1896. Impelled by the desire to build up a detailed history of American printing, students of it have been driven to the same methods as are used by incunabulists, in order to get information as to all the books printed in the same place or by the same printer, and Mr. Eames has played a greater part than any one else in showing how it may be done. These thirty essays by men and women whom he has kindled to enthusiasm form a tribute which carries with it an assurance not only of regard and admiration but of the continuance of the studies which Mr. Eames has devoted his life to promote. From the beginning of printing on the American continent in 1540 to the wall-paper newspapers of the Civil War there are investigators at work all along the line, and they seem to find no difficulty in getting hold of interesting subjects, many of them full of human interest. To bring out this point I have ventured to rearrange the order in which our first American Hon. Sec., Mr. Winship, has printed the contributions which he has been so successful in obtaining. I cannot find any system in Mr. Winship's order, and believe that the chronology of the subjects here and always offers the best



plan of arrangement. I hope Mr. Winship will forgive me and accept my congratulations on the success of his scheme to honour Mr. Eames, and that Mr. Eames himself will regard this laborious summary of his *Festschrift* as expressing the feelings which would have taken the form of yet another paper in it, if I had only had any special knowledge of any little bit of his big 'home-field'.

A. W. POLLARD.

*Periods of Typography. Italian XVI Century.* By A. F. JOHNSON. pp. 34. Fifty plates.—*Typography of the Spanish XVI Century.* By Henry Thomas, D.Litt. pp. 38. Fifty plates.—*The First Century of Printing at Basle.* By A. F. JOHNSON. pp. 27. Fifty plates. London, Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1926. 15s. each volume.

THE typographical exploration of the sixteenth century is proceeding apace. A third of a century ago, when I was editing *Books about Books*, to the best of my belief no one in England had any detailed knowledge of the work of foreign printers after 1520, save of the few, practically the Aldi, Froben, and the Estiennes, of whose books there were bibliographies, nor in the absence of bibliographies was there any easy way of gaining knowledge. We were fifteenth-century men and looked on the sixteenth as typographically a period of decline, interesting only for the scholarship of the more famous printers, but condemned to inferiority by the deterioration in paper and presswork. The discovery of the sixteenth century originated not with bibliographers but with printers, with Mr. Bruce Rogers whose finest work has been inspired by Robert Estienne, with Mr. Updike who has not only practised but studied and recorded, and lately with Mr. Stanley Morrison who has followed Mr. Updike's example. It is very satisfactory that bibliographers are now waking up, and that the sixteenth century is being given the special treatment which the fifteenth received thirty years ago. The space at the disposal of Dr. Thomas and Mr. A. F. Johnson is severely

limited, and they have used it somewhat differently. Dr. Thomas devotes his section of text mainly to the historical and geographical information necessary to understanding how printing took the course it did (both as to localities and the choice of types), and gives most of his information as to individual printers and their books in the form of notes to his list of plates. Mr. Johnson, on the other hand, gives unannotated lists of plates, offers fewer general observations, and devotes his text mainly to the story of printers, books, and types. But in each case as much information is given as the space will hold, and much of it will be new to the great majority of readers. This is less conspicuously to be noted in Mr. Johnson's paper on *The First Century of Printing at Basle* than in the other two, as the great period of printing there came to an end with the religious struggles and plague of 1526, and the books of the first quarter of the sixteenth century have been less neglected by previous historians than the rest. But even in Mr. Johnson's Basle book there is an increased discussion of types, more especially italics, and in the other two books, especially Mr. Johnson's on *The Italian XVIth Century*, this is strongly in evidence. In comparison with the amount of text the fifty plates allotted to each paper seems liberal, and though many more would have been useful those provided suffice, thanks to good selection, to give a fair idea of the course of printing in the countries and periods treated. It cannot be said that the 'plates' are conspicuously good. Those by the half-tone process are more successful than the line blocks, which for the most part are too heavily inked and as usual exaggerate all the defects of the originals. But roman and (more especially) italic founts are notoriously difficult to reproduce, and it is much that there are no signs of the blocks having been touched up to make them look pretty. Further volumes of the series should be sure of a welcome after this good beginning.

A. W. P.

*Proceedings of the British Academy* [Vol. X], 1921-1923. London, Humphrey Milford [1926]. 8°. pp. xx + 579.

BESIDES lists of Fellows, annual reports, a presidential address, and obituary notices, the present volume contains a considerable number of papers of first-rate interest and covering a wide range of subjects. Of particular concern to bibliographers will or should be those of R. L. Poole on 'The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages', Henry Bradley 'On the Text of Abbo of Fleury's *Quaestiones Grammaticales*', Paget Toynbee on 'The Bearing of the *Cursus* on the Text of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*', A. W. Pollard on 'The Foundation of Shakespeare's Text', and C. J. Gadd on 'The Fall of Nineveh'. By the way, I had always innocently believed that *Queen Mab* was written by Shelley, but Dr. Scripture and the new Phonetic Analysis appear to have decided that it is Southey's (p. 291).

Next to the interest of the papers it contains, what strikes one most about this volume is that it is sadly out of date. It contains nothing later than December 1923, and all interested in the Academy lectures will long ago have read them as separate pamphlets. The only significance of the present collection is that it will now presumably be available on the shelves of public libraries—and it ought to have been so available two years ago.

W. W. G.

*A Cabinet of Characters.* Chosen and edited by GWENDOLEN MURPHY. London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1925. pp. xliii + 437. Price 12s. 6d.

MISS MURPHY'S volume of selections to illustrate the history of the 'Character' as a literary 'kind' deserves a welcome from all members of the Bibliographical Society if only because of the excellent bibliography which it gave

the Society the privilege of printing. The majority of the selections are of course taken from the English character-books of the seventeenth century, but these are preluded by kindred extracts from satires, essays, sermons, and plays, and followed by character-sketches by later writers ending with G. W. E. Russell and Mr. Galsworthy. Students of the history of publishing will find in her book not only Wither's portraits of 'An honest Stationer' and 'A meere Stationer', but an exposure of the tricks played by booksellers with title-pages quoted from *Pecunia obediunt omnia*, *Money does master all things*, an anonymous poem printed at York in 1696. Miss Murphy's book is well printed and has eleven reproductions of old cuts, which seem to have been judiciously touched up so as to harmonize with modern presswork.

*Rothamsted Experimental Station Library. Catalogue of the printed books on Agriculture published between 1471 and 1840 with notes on the authors.* By MARY S. ASLIN. pp. 331. (Obtainable from the Secretary. 12s. 9d., post free.)

WITH the aid of benefactors the library of the Rothamsted Experimental Station has acquired a fine collection of books on agriculture and kindred subjects, and it has now published very useful lists of those issued during the three hundred and seventy years 1471-1840, from the Augsburg edition of the *Liber ruralium commodorum* to Liebig's *Die organische Chemie in ihrer Anwendung auf Agrikultur und Physiologie*, from which (so we gather from Dr. Russell's 'foreword') the development of agriculture on scientific principles takes its start. The 'scientific' books will no doubt be listed later on; the present lists drawn up by Miss M. S. Aslin will be welcomed both by students of the early literature of agriculture as such and by all antiquarian bibliographers. Gratitude is especially due for the provision of a chronological list as well as an alphabetical one under authors, as this enables the biblio-

graphical development of the subject to be traced, while landmarks are indicated by a series of side-notes in small type, such as 'First mention of turnips' against Tusser's *Five hundreth points of husbandry* (1573), 'First book on poultry' against Choiselat's *A discourse of husbandrie* (1580), and 'This gives costs of general farming' against Donaldson's *Husbandry anatomised* (1697). In the author section the notes are biographical and bibliographical, and the only criticism to be made on them is that being printed in the same type as the title-entries in some headings they rather obscure the arrangement. The Rothamsted Library is to be congratulated on having secured a few books of which no other copy has been traced and several of which only a single copy is already registered, and Miss Aslin on having set such a good example to other librarians of special collections. The Director of the Experimental Station, Dr. E. J. Russell, contributes a brief but very interesting foreword, which ends with a pleasant acknowledgement to the booksellers who have helped to build up the collection. The book is printed at the University Press, Aberdeen, and copies can be obtained, so we are informed, by forwarding the price to the Secretary, Rothamsted Experimental Station, Herts.

*Fulgens & Lucres. A fifteenth-century secular play.* By HENRY MEDWALL. Edited by F. S. BOAS and A. W. REED. At the Clarendon Press, 1926. (Tudor and Stuart Library.) pp. xxvii + 104. 7s. 6d.

MR. H. E. HUNTINGTON showed great public spirit in producing a photographic facsimile of Rastell's edition of *Fulgens and Lucres*, and he has shown it once more in allowing the facsimile to be used as the basis of a reprint enriched with an introduction and notes by Drs. Boas and Reed. The latter had already established that the play was founded on Tiptoft's version of the *De vera nobilitate* of Bonaccorso of Pistoja as

printed by Caxton, along with renderings of Cicero's *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute* by Tiptoft and Caxton himself. Reasons are now given for assigning the play to Christmas 1497, and what can be discovered of Medwall's career is briefly stated. Miles Blomefylde, whose name is found on Mr. Huntington's copy, is identified as a Bury St. Edmunds physician (b. 1525) who also owned the two Digby plays on the Conversion of St. Paul and Mary Magdalen. With a well-printed text and useful notes (mainly glossarial) this is as pretty and handy an edition as could be desired.

*Satirical Poems published anonymously by William Mason. With notes by Horace Walpole now first printed from his manuscript. Edited with an exposé of the mystification, notes, and index. By PAGET TOYNBEE. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926. pp. 158. 42s.*

THE secret of the authorship of the satirical poems written by the Rev. William Mason against the Tory ministry, notably *An heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*, which enjoyed great popularity in 1773, was carefully guarded, Horace Walpole and the author taking elaborate precautions lest their letters about them should be opened in the post. Mason never directly confessed his authorship, but it was definitely proved a few years ago when Dr. Paget Toynbee discovered the original manuscript of 'a commentary and notes to Mr. Mason's later poems' which Walpole mentions having written in May 1779, but which had disappeared. Dr. Toynbee has now edited both the poems and Walpole's notes with the whole story of the mystification, and the Clarendon Press has backed him up with very fine printing and half a dozen portraits of persons concerned. We are tempted to wish that so much care and expense had been bestowed on a better object; but if the thing had to be done it could hardly have been done better.

A. W. P.

## GOOD BOOK-BUILDING

*Books at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition.* In the enthusiasm of the Arts and Crafts 'private view' at the end of January it seemed clearly the duty of *The Library* to offer its readers at a distance some representation of the fine bookwork which formed a prominent feature in the exhibition. The help of our honorary member, Mr. Emery Walker, was enlisted on the spot, and although the time was short and facilities for photographing while an exhibition is on view are necessarily restricted, there seemed no reason to doubt that the illustrations would be ready to accompany the little note on the exhibition printed in our March number. The weather of February in London had not been reckoned with. When the requisite permissions had been obtained a persevering photographer went again and again to the exhibition to take negatives, only to be continually baffled by the badness of the light. In the end the attempt to represent the magnificent first opening of Mr. Graily Hewitt's illuminated manuscript of Keats's *Endymion* was altogether defeated, and the note-writer by this time being at the mercy of the Italian post the illustrations of book-binding and a striking woodcut of 'Everyman and Good Deeds' by Margaret Haythorne, which were ready by the third week in February, had to be held over for use in the present number. Miss Haythorne's 'Everyman' won my heart by its masculinity. I am prepared to admit that on occasion Everyman may quite rightly be represented by a woman, as in the interpretation of certain Acts of Parliament. But the Everyman of the early sixteenth-century (or fifteenth-century) interlude is distinctly a male man, and ought to be so represented on the stage and in art, so that this first picture of him that I have seen roused my enthusiasm.



Of the bindings selected the most notable are the work of Mr. Douglas Cockerell and his helpers. My own ideal in fine book-binding is that the leather should be the best possible, and when it is as good as it should be, not too much of it should be covered with tooling, however beautiful. For this reason *The masque of the Artworkers' Guild* (228 p. in the Exhibition Catalogue) pleases me as much as any of the Cockerell bindings, despite the puzzle of the lettering on the back which at first quite baffled me. But *The Report of the Church Property Commission* (228 q.) is a very noble book, and the diagonal lines leave the texture of the leather clearly visible. This is true also of the dotted scroll-work on Miss Adams's cover for Mr. Walker's *Brief History of Printing* (228 h.), while in Gwen Ridgway's binding of Stevenson's *Inland Voyage* (228 p.) and C. A. L. Macrae's of *My Quebec Scrap-book* (226 d.) the large and impressively rich decoration yet leaves sufficient space uncovered for the leather to have its chance. There must needs, however, be variety in bindings, and the search for new patterns covering the whole side still goes on. Mr. Cockerell's rope-work interlacement on the Vale Press edition of Rossetti's *Hand and Soul* (228 k.) is charmingly light and graceful. Of the two volumes of *Modern English Essays* the first has a very quiet semis, the second an all-over design of curves and scales which excites in me a desire to isolate a centrepiece and leave out the rest. Evelyn Goggs's *Nicholas Poussin* (228 n.) defies any such treatment and commands respect by the skill with which the restless sectional patterns are blended into a unity. Sibyl Pye's *Othello* has won the distinction of being picked out for special admiration by a French critic. Altogether these few specimens show that book-binding is a very live section of the Arts and Crafts, and it would be well if more book-lovers encouraged the younger craftsmen, and craftswomen, by commissions.

*English Twentieth-Century Printing at the British Museum*

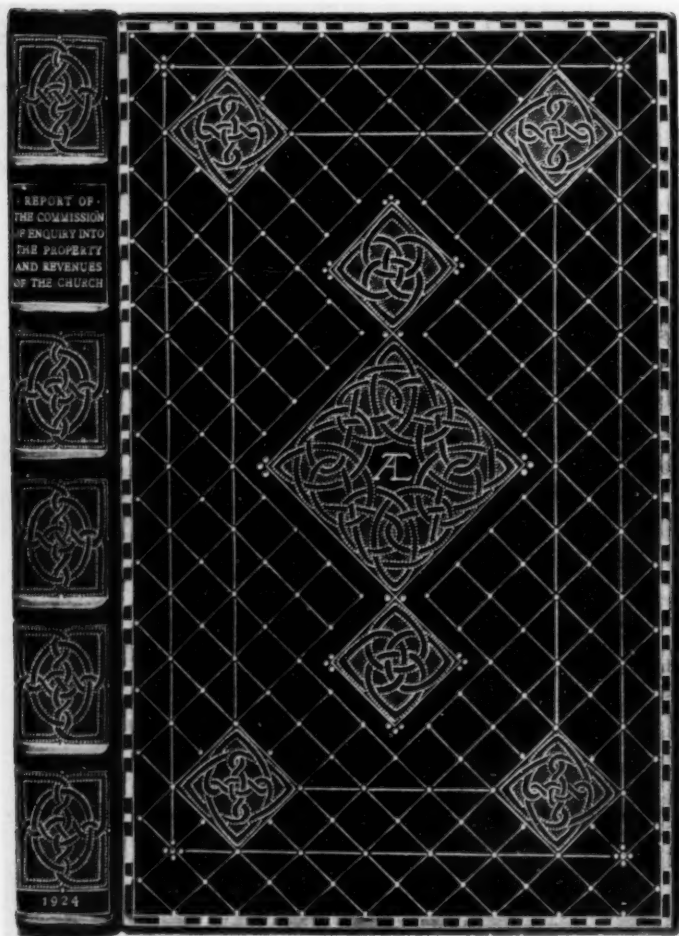
Until not so many years ago there was a general understanding at the Museum that contemporary work must not be put on exhibition in the public galleries, lest producers not so honoured should take it as a grievance. The credit for outgrowing this timidity belongs, I think, primarily to the Department of Prints and Drawings which, under the keepership of Sir Sidney Colvin, began to welcome gifts of work by living artists and duly exhibited them among its new acquisitions. It is pleasant to note that following this good example the Department of Printed Books is now showing in seven cases at the north end of the King's Library between fifty and sixty specimens of English printing and book-illustration of the present century. The Chiswick Press 'golden type' edition of Morris's *Hopes and Fears for Art* (1902), and *The Beginning of the World* of the same year, with its twenty-five woodcuts after drawings by Burne Jones, form links with the Kelmscott Press, and in the Doves Press Bible and the *Odyssey* in Proctor's Greek type and a few other books the later effects of the movement which began in the late eighties of the last century are seen at their best. But most of the exhibits date from after the War, and like the Arts and Crafts book-bindings they show that there is plenty of life in their producers. The two imprints which occur most frequently on the exhibits are those of the Oxford University Press which prints for other publishers and for societies (including our own) in addition to the huge output of its own publications, and the Nonesuch Press which prints nothing but employs other printers with so judicious appreciation of what they can do best and happy gift of stimulating them to do it, that its books never lack interest. Among other presses represented are the Ashendene which still carries on with new splendours the Morris tradition, the Arden, Beaumont, Cambridge University, Cloister, Cuala, Curwen, Dolphin (with 'humanistic' type from Cambridge,

Mass.), St. Dominic (Ditchling), Glasgow University, Golden Cockerel, Gregynog, Kynoch, London County Council Central School of Arts and Crafts, Pelican, Romney Street (Westminster), Shakespeare Head, Stanton, and Warde and Morrison (Arrighi type). There is no printed catalogue and all the descriptive labels are hand-written so that books can be taken out or added at any time. If this is done with judicious frequency the north end of the King's Library should be much more frequented by book-lovers than it has been in the past.

A. W. P.



MARGARET HAYTHORNE. 'EVERY MAN  
AND GOOD DEEDS.' (103)



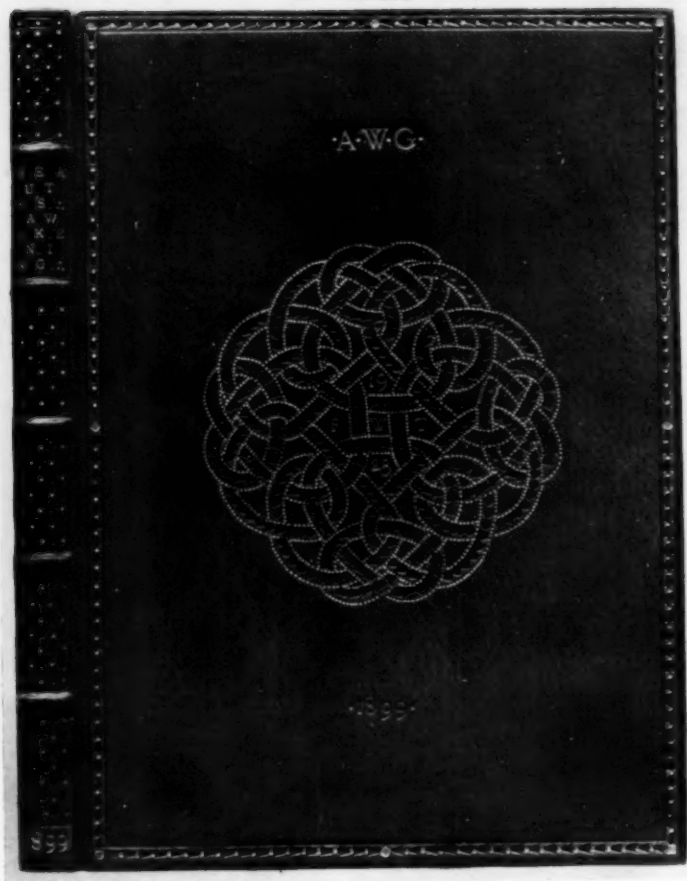
REPORT OF  
THE COMMISSION  
OF ENQUIRY INTO  
THE PROPERTY  
AND REVENUES  
OF THE CHURCH

1924

DESIGNED BY DOUGLAS COCKERELL. EXECUTED BY  
E. W. MARSH (W. H. SMITH & SON). (228 q)

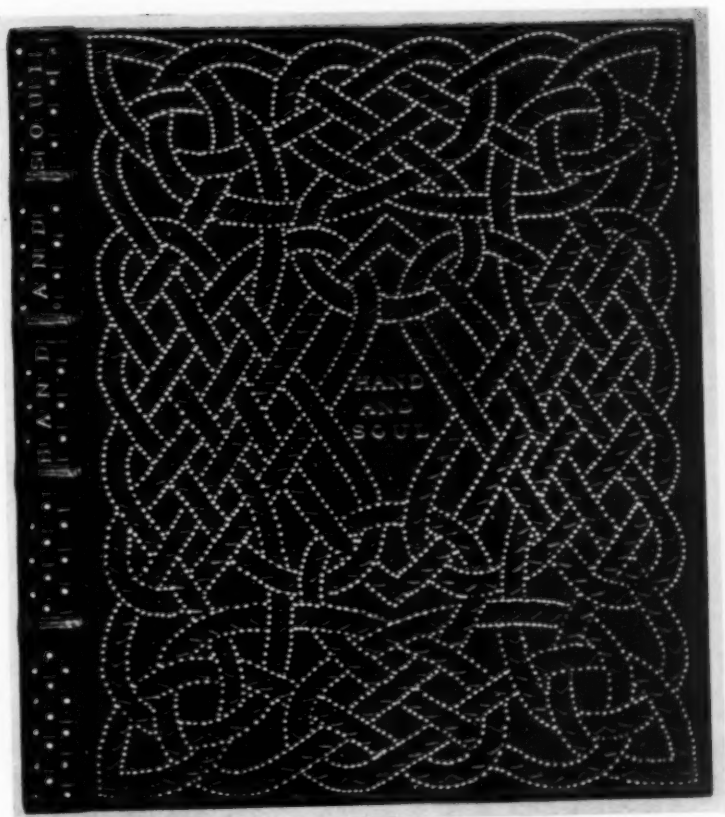


KATHARINE ADAMS. 'A BRIEF HISTORY OF  
PRINTING' BY EMERY WALKER. (228 h)

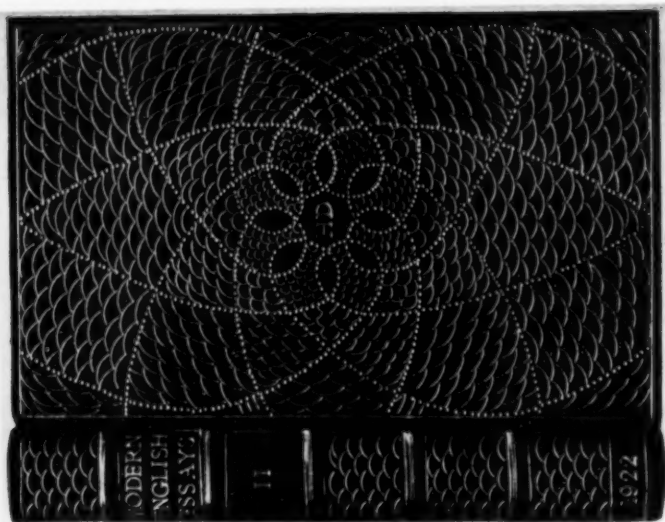
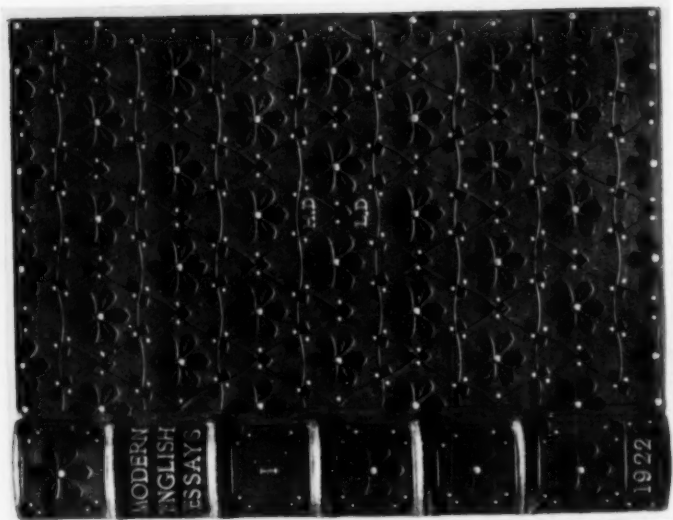


DOUGLAS AND SYDNEY M. COCKERELL, 'MASQUE  
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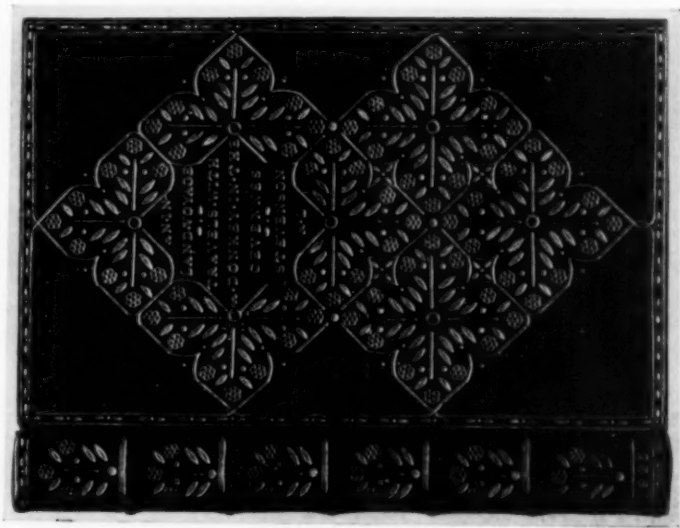




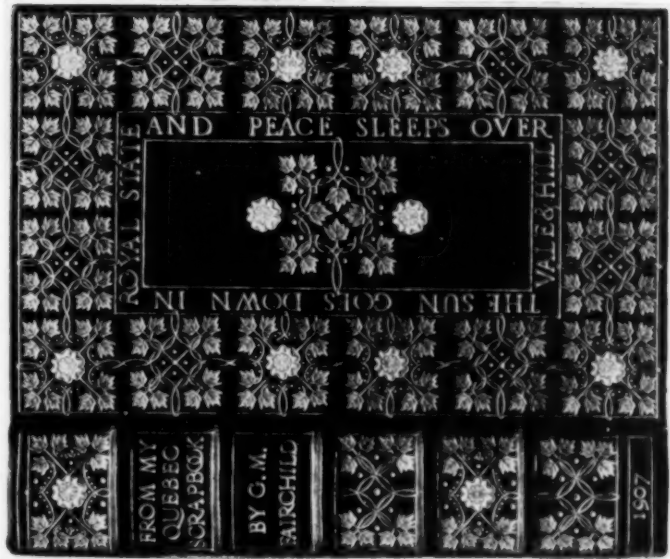
DOUGLAS COCKERELL. VALE PRESS 'HAND AND SOUL'. (228 k)



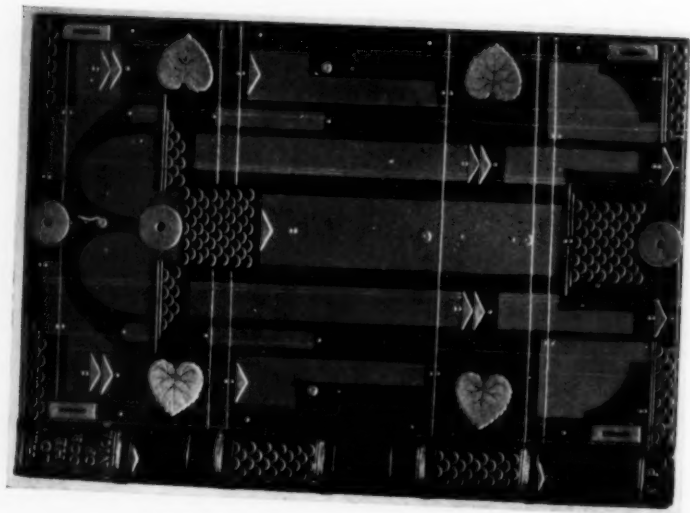
DOUGLAS AND SYDNEY M. COCKERELL, 'MODERN ENGLISH ESSAYS,' (228 d and e)



GWEN RIDGWAY STEVENSON'S  
'INLAND VOYAGE', (228 p)



C. A. L. MACRAE, 'FROM MY QUEBEC  
SCRAP-BOOK,' (226 d)



SYBIL PYE. VALE PRESS 'CTHELLO'. (228 a)



EVELYN GOGGS. 'NICHOLAS POUSSIN'. (228 n)